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Friday, January 18, 1985

THE JERUSALEM POST

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IDF assesses terror as two soldiers killed

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Post Defence Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Military sources said yesterday it was too early to determine whether Wednesday's attack on a military convoy north of Jebel Baruk — in which two soldiers were killed and two wounded — signifies a new wave of sabotage in Lebanon.

The incident occurred only one day after three men attacked soldiers at a roadblock near Monte Verde. Rav-Turaf Rafi Reichert of Givatayim and Samal-Rishon Mordechai Tadmor of Ness Ziona were killed and Shmuel Kaufmann and Yosef Steinberg were injured in Wednesday's incident, which occurred at 4 p.m. between Ein Zahla and Dir al Kammar north of Jebel Baruk some four kilometres from the Syrian lines. It was announced only yesterday morning.

The soldiers were on their way to receive a new group of reservists, after themselves completing a 30-day stint.

Traveling in a jeep and a command car, they did not pay special attention to a white car parked on the side of the road about three kilometres south of Ein Zahla with its hood up, as if it was being repaired.

After the vehicles passed the car, one of the men pulled out a Kalashnikov rifle and fired at the command car.

The two soldiers sitting in the front were killed instantly and the

vehicle overturned into a ditch. The assailants then drove off.

Kaufmann, of Upper Nazareth, who was sitting in the rear, said he vainly tried to extricate his comrade and fellow townsman, Steinberg. "There was blood on my leg. I returned to the road and then the jeep returned," he recalled. The soldiers got Steinberg out and radioed for help, and a doctor arrived within 15 minutes, he related.

Reichert, 32, was buried yesterday in Kiryat Shaul. He is survived by his wife and two children. Tadmor, 29, was laid to rest in his town's cemetery. He is survived by his wife and three children.

Steinberg and Kaufmann were sent to Haifa's Rambam Hospital.

In an interview broadcast over Gaiet Zahal yesterday, the Beirut area commander said that attackers in the Shouf area have equipment similar to the Syrian Army's, and to the best of his knowledge are trained in Syrian-controlled territory.

Menahem Horowitz adds:

Israeli military sources yesterday charged that Lebanese citizens living in the area of the Shouf mountains and the Beirut-Damascus road are collaborating with the terrorists in a protection racket against local civilians. One Druse has reportedly admitted such collaboration.

The IDF intends to step up its security measures, even at the ex-

Arafat urged to reject Reagan plan

ALGIERS (AP). — PLO leader Yasser Arafat was under pressure yesterday from some Palestinian factions to announce an outright rejection of the Reagan peace plan as other key PLO figures complained about a lack of "encouraging signs" from the U.S.

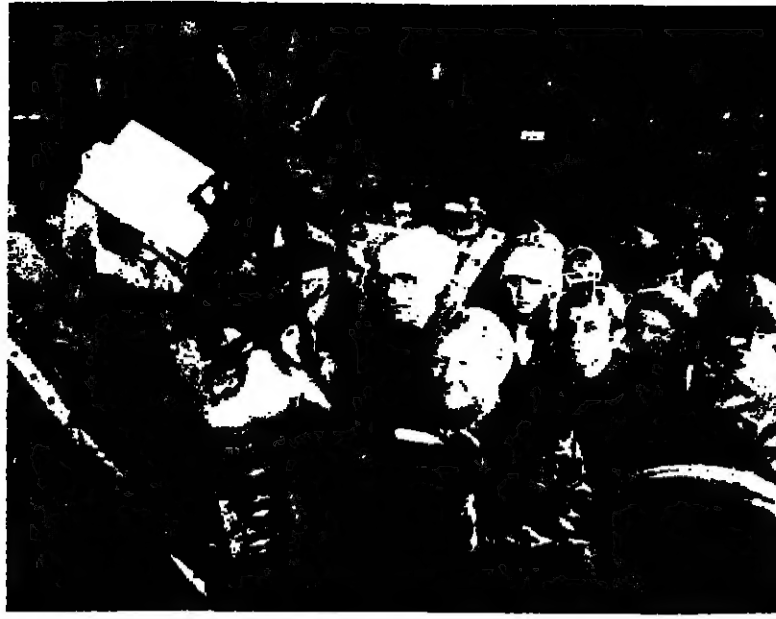
"The Americans are not giving us anything, nothing that we can show to the hardliners that will dissuade them and bolster our position," said a senior PLO official speaking for the "moderate" majority of the Palestine National Council.

He said the moderates backing Arafat are being "pushed" to reject the U.S. proposals but discounted an outright rejection of the Reagan plan by the current session of the PNC.

"The Reagan plan neither recognizes the PLO nor promises an independent state for the Palestinians...this is making it extremely difficult for us to face the hardliners," he said.

PNC speaker Khaled al Fahoum said he was "confident that the council will endorse the Fez plan" adopted by the Arab summit in Fez, Morocco, last September.

Point seven of the plan has been interpreted as giving implicit recognition to Israel. Other points call for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza strip, with East Jerusalem as its capital.



Demonstrators at yesterday's memorial meeting for Emil Grunzweig in Jerusalem light candles at a memorial torch for the victim of the grenade blast. (Rahumim Israeli)

Rallies for grenade victim in Jerusalem, TA, Haifa

Jerusalem Post Staff

Thousands of Peace Now supporters and others last night braved a driving rainstorm to attend the memorial meeting to mark the end of the traditional week of mourning for Emil Grunzweig, who was killed in a grenade attack on a Peace Now demonstration in Jerusalem last week.

Observers estimated that almost three times as many attended yesterday's gathering opposite the Prime Minister's office as had been present at the demonstration at which Grunzweig was killed. Hundreds of police were on hand to guard the participants but they kept a low profile and were hardly to be seen.

The only speaker at the gathering was author Amos Oz, who said that

Emil had fought on the battlefield against the enemies of Israel, but had fallen by the hands of other enemies, the enemies of freedom.

Oz issued three appeals — to the Palestinians, to the Israeli opponents of Peace Now, and to its adherents. He told "our Palestinian enemies" they had brought untold tragedy upon themselves by using terror.

To the opponents of Peace Now, he said: "You are tearing the nation to pieces in your quest for the inviolability of the land of Israel." And to the supporters of Peace Now he issued a call to listen to the voice of reason and moderation and not be carried away by anger.

The police yesterday stepped up their questioning of suspects, both

(Continued on back page)

'Spanish anti-terror officials due here'

Post Defence Reporter

Senior Spanish officials will come here shortly to tighten contacts with Israel's secret services, the Agence France Press reported from Madrid yesterday.

Spain does not have diplomatic relations with Israel.

Spokesmen for the prime minister, who is responsible for the secret services, the Foreign Ministry and the Israel Defence Forces said they were not aware of the impending visit.

The report from Madrid quoted

unnamed sources in Spain's Interior Ministry. It said the officials will also go to the U.S. and the German Federal Republic to "exchange information" on fighting international terrorism. They are seeking close cooperation with the secret services of the three countries and hope to receive information on the Basque separatist movement (ETA).

In connection with these efforts, Rafael Verra, the Spanish official in charge of state security visited Paris twice, the French agency added.

Small-arms fire wounds Israeli

Jerusalem Post Reporter

An Israeli was wounded in the arm by small-arms fire while driving between Beit Govrin and Hebron near the village of Tarkumiye yesterday. It was the second such ambush this week.

He was taken to hospital and is reported to be in a fair condition.

The 19-day-long curfew on the Dahariya refugee camp south of Hebron was lifted yesterday. It was imposed following a stone-throwing incident there in which an Israeli woman, Esther Ohana, was seriously injured. She died of her injuries this week. Forty-six local residents are still under arrest.

NEWS ANALYSIS/Hirsh Goodman

IDF managing 'shadowy' terrorism in Lebanon

Israeli military officials are not particularly perturbed by the increase in sabotage incidents directed against Israel Defence Forces objectives in Lebanon this past week.

"Obviously we are concerned about every incident, and obviously we will be doing everything to protect our men there but the number of terrorist incidents has actually dropped dramatically over the past month. There is no need for hysteria," one defence source summed it up last night.

This week two Israeli soldiers were killed in an ambush near Ein Zahla, in the central sector (see separate story), and another patrol came under attack just east of Beirut.

It is not clear who is behind the latest incidents or what their motives are. The IDF is pointing a heavy finger at rejectionist elements within the PLO, who the IDF contends are infiltrating from Syrian-controlled territory. However, other defence sources believe that the perpetrators could be coming down from Tripoli in the north, where the PLO maintains an organizational infrastructure, and that the Lebanese manning roadblocks from the area are doing a poor job of it.

As mentioned, the motive is also not clear. The spate of terror could be linked to the PLO's current deliberations in Algiers — a message of sorts from the radicals that the military course is the only course, regardless of what the politicians decide at the Palestine National Council. And it could be

intended to heighten tension between Lebanese, American, British and Israeli forces in the area. (The French and the Italians are not in any combat zone contiguous with the IDF.)

The IDF's range of choices to protect itself is limited: good prior intelligence is difficult to come by, given the complexity of the Lebanese situation, with so many parties pulling in different directions. The Christians are split, the Palestinians are split, the Druse are split, each splinter-faction having its own allegiance, often to forces outside Lebanon.

It is also difficult to have a cohesive defence, given the tension between the IDF and the multinational and Lebanese forces. The zealous guarding of strict areas of control by each of these parties, refusing entry to IDF forces even if it is clear that the assailants passed through the lines that separate these forces, makes effective cooperation, and therefore an effective defence, impossible.

The "enemy" the IDF has to fight in Lebanon has many advantages. Beirut has many shadows, virtually assuring the terrorist of cover. Weapons and explosives are known to be hidden all over West Beirut in caches that will take years to uncover even if the Lebanese take the job seriously, which they have not yet done. The terrorists are operating on a battlefield they are intimately acquainted with, knowing alternative escape routes far better than the IDF, having lived in the area, while IDF units deployed there change constantly.

As part of a defence policy, the IDF has over the past few weeks initiated arrests of suspects and collaborators, hoping to reduce the dimensions of the problem. But these arrests are thought to have had limited value only, because a terror squad sent in from Tripoli, knowing where to find arms and familiar with the territory, needs no "behind-the-lines" infrastructure, other than perhaps a safe-haven for a short period after the incident.

The IDF is conducting live-fire patrols along main axes in the mornings to ensure that no terrorists are waiting in ruins or in orchards along the way. These patrols have proven effective to the extent that the terrorists have changed their tactics and are firing on IDF targets travelling along main highways, where live-fire patrols are impossible.

In response to Tuesday's incident, the IDF will now change its routine at checkpoints. Whereas vehicles would drive up to the checkpoint and documents would be shown through an open car window, now those wanting to pass will have to park their vehicles several dozen metres from the checkpoint, walk over to show their documents and only then be allowed to pass through.

"At least this way we won't be fired on by a car passing through a roadblock like on Tuesday," an official said last night, adding that he is aware that the new procedure will cause the local population a great deal of inconvenience. The traffic jams, especially along the Beirut-Damascus highway, and on roads through the Shouf, will be horrendous.

4 soldiers convicted of West Bank beatings

By DAVID RICHARDSON
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Four soldiers, including a warrant officer, were convicted by the Central Command Military Court in Jaffa yesterday of beating West Bank Arab residents during unrest in the Hebron area last spring. They were sentenced to prison terms of between two and six months.

Three other defendants, among them the man who was deputy military governor of Hebron at the time, Rav-Seren (major) David

Mofaz, were acquitted.

The three military judges found that certain orders issued by the battalion commander of the area at the time, Aluf Mishne Ya'acov Har-Itzi, were "blatantly illegal." He had instructed his troops to shoot indiscriminately at solar heaters, beat detainees and smash their watches.

On the other hand, the tough policies instituted by the senior command of the army, including Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan, to deal with what the court described as a period of serious unrest, were found legal by the narrow definition of the military code and

(Continued on Page 17)

Peres: only Begin can initiate Labour-Likud coalition 'unrealistic for now'

By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — A Likud-Alignment coalition is "not a realistic or practical option at this time," Labour Party chairman Shimon Peres said yesterday after a flurry of unofficial contacts and consultations on the question. The day ended with a firm Peres decision not to make the first move, and instead to "wait for (Prime Minister Menachem) Begin's telephone call."

Begin, meanwhile, devoted himself yesterday to his new duties as caretaker defence minister. His

aides said that the subject of a "national unity government" did not figure in his agenda. They continued to maintain that the premier will "not again debate himself by appealing to the Alignment to join his coalition. He has done this three times before, and will not invite a fourth rebuff. The loud chorus of opposition from Labour is hardly an incentive for him to make a move."

When Peres met with kibbutz representatives on the Labour Central committee yesterday afternoon, it was already clear that he

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

Sudan supports Chad against Libyan threat

KHARTOUM. — Chad President Hissene Habre said yesterday there was a Libyan military build-up in northern Chad and accused Libya of sending armed mercenaries into his country.

"I know that Libya is massing troops in the northern part of our country," Habre said.

He said the Libyan build-up was in the northern Chad region of Aouzou which was annexed by the Libyans in 1977.

Habre arrived here on Wednesday for a three-day official visit, and has met twice with Sudanese President Jaafar Numeiri.

President Jaafar Numeiri met separately with Chad President Hissene Habre and U.S. presidential envoy General Vernon Walters here, as Pentagon sources disclosed that an aircraft carrier and radar spy planes were dispatched to the Libyan borders to counter reported Libyan moves.

The Washington reports spoke of a Libyan aircraft threat to Sudan,

but military experts here have long held that the vast deserts of western and northern Sudan are a formidable natural barrier to any moves from Libya's air base at Kufra Oasis in the south-east part of the country.

Kufra lies some 1,350 kilometres from Khartoum and hundreds of miles from any permanent, Sudanese settlement.

Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi said yesterday he would not allow the U.S. or any other foreign country to enter the Gulf of Sidra, which Libya claims as its territorial waters, the Libyan News Agency reported.

"We will not allow any state to enter our territorial waters, including the Soviet Union with which we have friendly relations," the Libyan leader was quoted as saying.

In August, 1981, U.S. Navy jets shot down two Libyan aircraft that challenged them during a U.S. naval

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

Reagan says U.S.-Egyptian maneuvers are deterrent

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — Senior Reagan administration officials yesterday confirmed that the U.S. and Egypt have undertaken joint aerial and naval maneuvers in the Gulf of Sidra off the Libyan coast to deter Tripoli leader Muammar Gaddafi from taking any action against Sudan or others of his country's neighbours.

In high-level discussions late last week, the U.S. and Egypt agreed that the U.S. aircraft carrier Nimitz, on duty in the Mediterranean, would move toward Libya and that the U.S. would dispatch four AWACS aerial surveillance aircraft to Egypt to underline its concern to Gaddafi.

President Ronald Reagan, at a news conference Wednesday night, sought to play down the significance of the activity, insisting it was all routine. But at a White House brief-

ing yesterday, a senior administration official confirmed that the U.S. was deeply concerned about Libyan intentions, especially about a Libyan military build-up along the border with Sudan.

Under tough questioning, he conceded that the Nimitz and the AWACS had been sent, both to improve the training of the joint military forces and to warn Libya — in effect — not to threaten its neighbours.

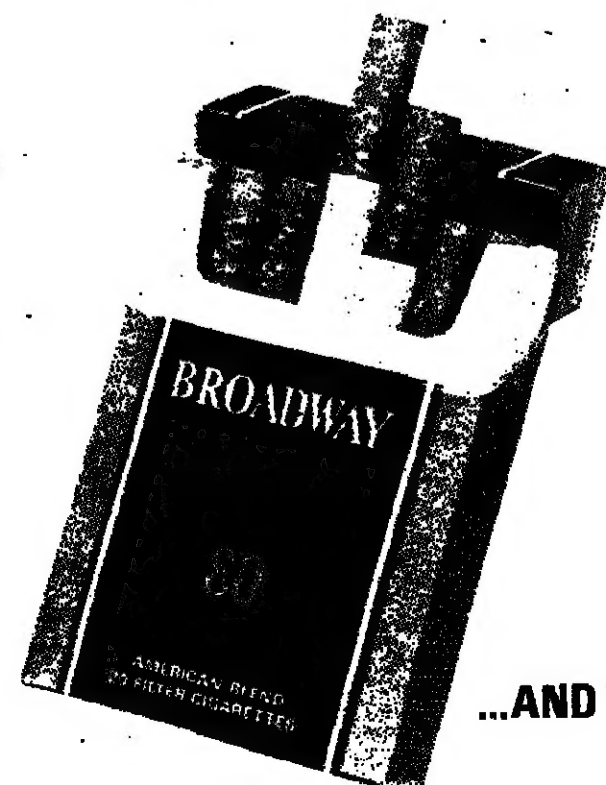
The official declined to elaborate on any specific threats from Libya. He would not even say whether Libyan forces are massing along the border, or whether Libyan fighters are threatening Sudan. But the clear implication of his comments was that the U.S. and Egypt are worried.

The senior official said the joint exercise with Egypt had been planned long ago, but its timing was only decided on late last week.

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| AMSTERDAM | -3 27 1 34 | Clear | | |
| BRUSSELS | -4 25 1 34 | Clear | | |
| BURGOS AIRS | 15 26 27 81 | Clear | | |
| CHICAGO | 1 24 3 37 | Stew | | |
| COPENHAGEN | -4 25 4 39 | Clear | | |
| FRANKFURT | -9 18 0 32 | Clear | | |
| GENEVA | -7 19 2 28 | Clear | | |
| HELSINKI | -3 27 1 30 | Cloudy | | |
| HONG KONG | 12 24 19 86 | Clear | | |
| JOHANNESBURG | 11 32 38 79 | Clear | | |
| LONDON | -1 20 5 41 | Cloudy | | |
| MADRID | -8 18 7 45 | Cloudy | | |
| MONTREAL | -4 21 3 37 | Clear | | |
| NEW YORK | -2 26 4 48 | Clear | | |
| OSLO | -8 18 3 37 | Clear | | |
| PARIS | -2 27 4 39 | Clear | | |
| RIO DE JANEIRO | 21 20 31 88 | Cloudy | | |
| SAO PAULO | 21 20 31 88 | Cloudy | | |
| STOCKHOLM | -3 27 3 37 | Cloudy | | |
| TOKYO | 1 24 7 48 | Stew | | |
| TORONTO | -2 26 5 41 | Clear | | |
| VIENNA | -1 22 1 30 | Clear | | |
| ZURICH | -3 27 1 30 | Clear | | |

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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Rain will continue sometimes accompanied by thunder storms. Outlook for Shabbat: Possible snow tomorrow night in the northern and central hills.

| Yesterday's | Humidity | Min-Max | Today's |
|-------------|----------|---------|---------|
| Jerusalem | 93 | 6-8 | 6 |
| Golan | 91 | 6-8 | 6 |
| Nahariya | 77 | 8-16 | 14 |
| Safed | 88 | 4-8 | 5 |
| Haifa Port | 88 | 12-14 | 14 |
| Tiberias | 90 | 10-14 | 14 |
| Nazareth | — | 7-— | — |
| Afula | 68 | 10-12 | 12 |
| Shomron | — | 7-— | — |
| Tel Aviv | 69 | 10-16 | 15 |
| B-G Airport | 77 | 16-18 | 15 |
| Jericho | 67 | 9-18 | 16 |
| Gaza | 75 | 12-16 | 15 |
| Beersheba | 62 | 8-15 | 14 |
| Eilat | 35 | 12-19 | 19 |

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

Meir Heth, chairman of the Stock Exchange, will speak at the Haifa Maritime and Economics Club, Zion Hotel, 1 p.m. today. Table reservations by phone, 537766.

An Ohe! Chavah benefit tea for nine brides will be held at 3 p.m. Monday, February 21, at the home of Rabbi Shifra Nebezhzai. Guest speaker will be psychoanalyst and author Morris Mandel. Chairperson is Rabbi Rama Finkel.

Village-leagues appeal to Hussein

KALKILYA (Itim). — Heads of village leagues in Samaria yesterday called on Jordan's King Hussein to immediately join peace talks with Israel. Only in this way, they said, is it possible to protect Arab lands, and only through good neighbourly relations with Jews can the Palestinian people achieve their aims.

The meeting was held in Havia village near Kalkilya on the occasion of the organization of another league in the Tulkarm area, where 80 villages are organized in leagues.

Among those at the meeting, attended by thousands of village and family heads, were the head of the civil administration in Judea/Samaria, Tat-Aluf Shlomo Ily, and members of his staff.

The head of the new league, Ismail Marzuk, said that he had once participated in what he called the "Palestine revolution," and had even been imprisoned. "But I achieved nothing," he said, calling on Hussein to join the negotiations "together with us, because we are part of Jordan and Jordan is part of us."

The secretary-general of the leagues in Judea/Samaria, Yunis al-Hantuli, said that the leagues are an instrument of achieving Arab-Jewish peace. "The time has come," he said, "to learn from Israel what democracy is."

2 KILLED

(Continued from Page One)

pense of harming the property of local citizens. After a rash of car-bombs on the coastal highway in recent months, IDF sappers will take no chances and will blow up suspect abandoned vehicles.

According to Lebanese citizens, five vehicles, suspected of being booby-trapped, have been blown up on the coastal road by the IDF in the past two weeks.

Reportedly, one of the blown-up vehicles, a truck, belonged to an Israeli Arab from the village of Araba in Lower Galilee, who had parked his vehicle in order to go and spend the night in a nearby village.

The New York Times

WEEKLY REVIEW

Note to our readers: The New York Times was unable this week to deliver its "Week in Review" section because of disruptions in airline schedules caused by storms in the U.S. The next section will, we hope, appear with Monday's edition of The Jerusalem Post.

HOME NEWS

'Terror unaffected by PLO ouster'

By CHARLES HOFFMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The destruction of the PLO mini-state in Lebanon last year's war will "have no lasting effect of any sort on (non-Palestinian) international terror groups," contrary to what some official spokesmen contend, a leading Israeli expert on terrorism said yesterday.

He is Dr. Ariel Merari, of Tel Aviv University, who spoke in Jerusalem at the closing session of a four-day international conference on terrorism held by the Israeli chapter of the American Society for Industrial Security. Merari is in charge of research on terror at the Tel Aviv University Centre for Strategic Studies.

Merari noted that before the war, the PLO trained terrorists from over a dozen countries at special bases, and shipped arms from Lebanon to more than 40 terrorist groups abroad, about 20 of them in Europe. The PLO mini-state also served as a haven for fugitive terrorists, he said, noting that about 25 Irish Republican Army members had found refuge there.

The loss of the PLO terror base in Lebanon, he argued, will cause only minor, short-term difficulties for most international groups — those from Spain, Germany, Northern Ireland, Greece, Argentina, Chile, Armenia, South Africa, Chad, Namibia, Japan, Iran and others.

Most of them, he said, could rely on local sources of arms supply or external sources, including states, which had existed for a number of years. The one exception may be the Red Brigades, which was supplied mainly by the PLO from Lebanon before the war. Since the war, he said, the Red Brigades have stepped up raids on military installations to replenish its arms stocks.

As far as training goes, he said, the Lebanon bases could be replaced by bases in Soviet bloc countries (the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Hungary and others), the Middle East (Algeria, Libya, and South Yemen), and Cuba. Libya already trains terrorists from Ulster, Spain, Italy, Thailand and the Philippines.

The group hardest hit by the loss

of its PLO haven is the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA), which was the only international group to have its headquarters in Beirut, Merari said. ASALA, he noted, is re-organizing in Cyprus, and is experiencing a temporary lull in activity.

He said that one of the negative results of the war was a dramatic increase late last year in attacks against Israeli and other Jewish targets in Europe. This, he believed, was a short-term response by both left- and right-wing terror groups.

In response to a question from the audience, he said that PLO terrorism "will increase considerably" as a result of the war, although it may take some time for it to re-organize. An escalation in the scope and type of PLO attacks is also possible, he concluded.

The last session of the conference was hosted by the Leonard Davis Institute for International Affairs at the Hebrew University. The institute decided to dedicate the session to the memory of Emil Grunzweig, who was a graduate student at the university.

Reagan steps up Mideast diplomatic activity

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — In the wake of the Israeli cabinet reshuffle, President Ronald Reagan is stepping up U.S. diplomatic activity in the Middle East.

Administration officials said yesterday that Secretary of State George Shultz is considering a trip to the region next month, to try to achieve a breakthrough in the Lebanese-Israeli talks.

Reagan underlined the importance of the talks in his nationally

televised news conference Wednesday night. He said the U.S. is willing to send additional U.S. peacekeeping forces to Lebanon "because I think this is too great an opportunity to finally bring peace to the Middle East for us to let this go by."

The president denied that any decision to increase the number of U.S. troops in Lebanon has been reached. But he added: "If this should become a factor and this could be the key element in resolving this situation, this departure of forces from Lebanon, then yes, I would be willing to be going along

with this."

Reagan said the U.S. will seek the agreement "of our allies in that or maybe other countries could join in too." If an expanded multinational presence would help remove Israeli, Syrian and PLO forces from Lebanon, he said, "I would be willing to go along with that."

Last night (around midnight Israel time), Reagan was due to receive Sephardi Chief Rabbi Ovadiah Yosef for a brief courtesy call at the White House. Reagan last year received Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Shlomo Goren.

El Al engineers invade Kessar's office

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Some 20 El Al flight engineers yesterday took over the office of Histadrut Trade Union Department chief Yisrael Kessar in protest against his refusal to back their demands for increased severance pay.

They were joined by their wives and children in the early afternoon and left peacefully, shortly after 8 p.m. "We'll be back tomorrow," a spokesman said.

Kessar moved to another office, where he could work without interference.

El Al wishes to fire 23 of its 92 flight engineers and the men fear

more dismissals because modern equipment makes their jobs redundant. The company said it will give 130 per cent compensation — the rate offered to the pilots.

A member of the flight engineers staff committee said it would come to \$30,000. But the Histadrut official in charge of El Al affairs said it would be about \$100,000.

Ground workers due for dismissal are to get more and the flight engineers say they want to qualify for the ground workers arrangement. The flight engineers staff committee said they want \$130,000 to \$150,000 each.

Management rejected their demand, as did the Histadrut.

LABOUR LIKUD

(Continued from Page One)

would not summon party forums for any re-vote on the resolution opposing a national unity government. Such a move, Peres told the gathering during the meeting of over three hours, would be tantamount to a Labour initiative, while it is up to Begin to make the first move.

Peres added that a national-unity government is an idea whose time has not yet come, and there is no point in even considering it.

But others in Labour continued to report rumours that the affair was a trial balloon floated by Peres and his rival, former prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, both of whom might be seeking high government posts to cement their leadership of the party. They need such a boost, the theory goes, after again being frustrated in attempts to bring the government down, and in anticipation of a possible challenge for the party leadership from Yitzhak Navon after he ends his presidential term.

Though sources close to Peres continued to deny these reports, Labour insiders spoke of an attempt by Peres yesterday to convince leading colleagues to convene party forums and rescind an earlier decision against any political partnership with the Likud. Begin has demanded that this be done before he could even consider the formation of a national-unity government. Labour has ruled out the idea, and Labour must remove the taboo, it is said in Begin's office.

Peres and Rabin thought, some Labour sources conjectured, that if both advocated entering a Begin government, they might muster a majority in the party central committee. But early feelers ran into such vehement opposition that the initiative died a quick death.

The 21 kibbutz representatives who took part in yesterday's closed meeting with Peres all expressed unequivocal opposition to a national-unity government, which the kibbutz movement later, in a communiqué, labelled "an illusion."

All told, opposition in Labour to the idea appeared insurmountable. Insiders hardly recalled another issue that had so united Labour ranks that even the habitually warring doves and hawks flocked together. The only MK to state openly that he supports joining the government

was Dov Ben-Meir, who argued that Labour, "unlike Sheli, should not just protest but also offer constructive solutions to problems."

The line-up of outspoken opponents included well-known figures from Labour's left and right, among them MKs Abba Eban, Uri Baram, Eliahu Speiser, Moshe Shaleh, Haim Bar-Lev, Gad Ya'acobi, Aharon Harel, Ya'acov Tsur, Michael Bar-Zohar and Ra'anana Na'im. Outside the Knesset faction, Yitzhak Ben-Aharon, Haim Zadok, Yisrael Galili and Uri Agami all ruled out any coalition with the Likud.

Mapam, the Citizens Rights Movement and MK Yosef Sarid have all served warning that they will leave the Alignment if it agrees to a national-unity government.

Nevertheless, some untiring intermediaries continued in their efforts to bring the two sides together. Minister without Portfolio Mordechai Ben-Porat, of the defunct Telem list, for one, said he expects to meet Begin on the question early next week.

Tehiya's Gula Cohen called on Begin to revive his old policy of calling Peres in from time to time to inform him on what is happening and to hear him out. Sources close to the premier did not rule out that this may happen, but stressed that if such an invitation is issued, it would be no more than a goodwill gesture, and should not be construed as a move to found a national unity government. An initiative for a Begin-Peres meeting to cool political passions in the country was made last week by Herut Knesset faction chairman Ronni Milo, National Religious Party MK Eliezer Shefer, and Matti David of Labour's hawkish wing.

Finance Minister Yoram Aridor wired Israel's ambassador in Washington, Moshe Arens, to congratulate him on his appointment as defence minister. Aridor was considered a chief opponent of the Arens appointment, for fear that it would put Arens ahead in the race for the number-two position in the Herut party.

Another hopeful, Deputy Prime Minister David Levy, has already greeted the Arens appointment, as has Communications Minister Mordechai Zippori, who some in Herut say had his own ambitions to take over the Defence Ministry.

Severe cold weather forecast for weekend

Jerusalem Post Reporter

BEIT DAGAN. — The rough wintry weather is back and will remain here over the weekend, the weatherman told The Jerusalem Post yesterday.

He said that this weather is caused by an upper trough, the deepest this year, bringing a drop in temperatures in Israel, with a severe drop in Turkey and other parts of the Mediterranean area. Some of

the extreme cold may reach Israel in a couple of days.

The weatherman said snow is possible in Jerusalem tomorrow, with rain in other parts of the country.

The snowstorm that started on Mt. Hermon and other high mountains in Lebanon yesterday is expected to continue at least till Sunday, he said. The ski site on Mt. Hermon has been closed to visitors.



A French soldier looks through binoculars yesterday at Beirut, as French units of the multinational forces take up positions in the eastern sector of the Lebanese capital. (UPI telephoto)

Lebanese Army 'welcome' in W. Beirut

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Israeli, Lebanese and American negotiators will continue talks in Netanya this morning on Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon and relations between the two countries.

At yesterday's session, Foreign Ministry Director-General David Kimche reassured the Lebanese delegation that Israel and the Israel Defence Forces welcome the deployment of the Lebanese Army in West Beirut as part of the restoration of Lebanese sovereignty over all of the country.

Kimche's remarks followed an incident between an Israeli patrol and a Lebanese army roadblock in West Beirut earlier this week.

Israeli and Lebanese army officers are reportedly meeting to demarcate sectors for each army, in order to avoid such clashes. Israeli sources stressed that there is "no conflict of interests" between the two sides.

Israeli sources also reported yesterday that the future of Major Sa'ad Haddad and his forces in Southern Lebanon was raised. It was made clear that Haddad and his militia are part of the planning for security arrangements in Southern Lebanon.

The Lebanese are reported to have been more upset at Haddad's ceremonial entry and parades in Sidon and Nabatiya this week than by his actual presence, which was established close on the heels of the IDF invasion.

The legal sub-committee continued to work yesterday on drafting proposals on issues that are more or less already agreed upon between Israel and Lebanon. These include undertakings to prevent terrorist attacks and the status of diplomats who will man the proposed liaison office Israel wishes to maintain in Beirut.

The military sub-committee continued to work on security arrangements such as the size of forces in the security zone and the limitations on the kinds of arms that will be permitted into the area.

The Lebanese delegation spent the night at the Four Seasons Hotel in Netanya.

In Jerusalem, U.S. special ambassador Philip Habib is apparently biding his time, waiting for a major development in the negotiations. Ambassador Morris Draper was not present at yesterday's talks and is reported to have flown to Beirut for talks with the Lebanese government.

Maccabi loses as Williams, Perry ejected

Post Sports Staff

A flaming row erupted in the closing stages of Maccabi Tel Aviv's key basketball game against Real Madrid in Spain last night, won by the Spaniards 95-92, to damage the Israeli champions' chances of qualifying for the European Cup final.

Under admitted provocation, Earl Williams and Audie Perry were ordered off the court by referees and escorted into the dressing room by Spanish police.

With Maccabi trailing by four points, and just two minutes remaining, a highly dubious decision went against Mickey Berkowitz as he made a lay-up. The officials disallowed the basket, ruling that the ball had not yet left the Israeli star's hand before a foul was committed, and awarded him free throws instead.

The entire Maccabi contingent — players, bench and officials — stormed at the judges' table. This incensed the frantic home crowd, who until then had been as sporting as the mood of the game itself. Curses and missiles were hurled at the Maccabi men.

When a coin struck Williams in the head, he leapt five rows into the stands and was forcibly restrained by Perry, who then blotted his own copybook by assuming the role of chief protester.

The tumult subsided only when

the two left the court, but the officials ruled a technical decision against Maccabi and instead of the free throws, proclaimed a jump ball at the centre of the court.

Maccabi tried desperately, but the four-point margin was too much.

The incident ruined a titanic battle, in which Maccabi almost broke a 15-year jinx to beat Real for the first time on its home court.

Berkowitz celebrated his 29th birthday in style, turning in a dazzling performance. He started slowly, but became brilliant under pressure, scoring some truly breathtaking baskets.

Perry was a sterling aid, and Moshe Aroesti played the game of his life, compensating for the off-form Williams and strangely lethargic Silver.

Taking a 45-41 lead into the half, Maccabi countered Real at the start of the second period with a brave defence. Fortunes seasawed, as Maccabi gained an extra fillip on learning of Billy Milano's 79-78 loss

to CSKA Moscow in Italy.

The return to form of Juan Corbelen, Real's energetic playmaker, edged things in Madrid's favour, and then came the sordid finale to what had become the most thrilling game of the season.

Because of the Russian victory, the final pool is still wide open, and Maccabi's chances of making it to the final have not been scuppered by the defeat. The Israelis beat Real by six points in Tel Aviv for an aggregate advantage. This is important should the two clubs finish level at the end of the round-robin competition.

Top scorers: Maccabi — Berkowitz 32, Williams 22, Perry 16; Silver 12, Aroesti 8. Real — Dalipagic 27, Rulian 22, Iturza 18.

| Final Pool Standings | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|---|---|---|-----|-----|------|--|--|--|
| | P | N | L | PF | PA | Pts | | | |
| Ford Canto | 7 | 5 | 2 | 582 | 517 | 12-1 | | | |
| Real Madrid | 7 | 5 | 2 | 645 | 618 | 12-1 | | | |
| Maccabi TA | 8 | 4 | 4 | 704 | 686 | 12-1 | | | |
| CSKA Moscow | 8 | 4 | 4 | 681 | 672 | 12-1 | | | |
| Billy Milano | 7 | 4 | 3 | 681 | 672 | 11-2 | | | |
| Cibona Zagreb | 7 | 0 | 7 | 554 | 695 | 5-9 | | | |

The second anniversary of the death of my beloved husband and our dear relative

RUBEN KONDOR י"ד

will be on February 22, 1983.

Friends and colleagues are asked to remember him.

Eva Kondor and family in Israel and abroad

In memory of our beloved daughter

SANDRA ROSENSTEIN י"ד

and our beloved granddaughter

TALI HADAD י"ד

who were cruelly murdered in their vehicle in Ramat Aviv on the night of February 22, 1980.

Bitterly mourned by: Parents, Grandfather, Grandmother The Family and Friends

In deep sorrow, we announce the passing of our beloved brother and brother-in-law

MARTIN WOLFF

The Bereaved Family

We extend heartfelt condolences to

Ruth Botknecht

and her family

on the passing of her dear

Father

Lis Travel Jerusalem, Ltd.

With deep sorrow, we announce the death in South Africa of

SAMUEL HAIFER

Children: Lynda and Denis Lee and sons (Ra'anana). Rhona and Izak Weiner and daughters (South Africa) Stanley and Peta Haifer and sons (South Africa)

On the third anniversary of the passing of our beloved

Prof. RAPHAEL FREUND י"ד

there will be a memorial service at the grave, on Har Hamanahot, Jerusalem, Monday, February 21, 1983 at 3 p.m. We will meet at the cemetery entrance.

The Family

EEC leader: PLO not legitimate partner

By ASHER WALLFISH
Post-Knesset Correspondent

The head of a European Parliament delegation said in the Knesset yesterday that the European Community cannot regard the PLO as a legitimate negotiating partner until it formally deletes from its charter "all paragraphs calling explicitly or implicitly for the destruction of Israel."

Mrs. Tove Nielsen, president of the delegation, told a press conference that the European Parliament has "massively rejected unconditional recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization." She said that in its January 11 resolution, the Parliament did not call for the creation of a Palestinian state, contrary to the impression in Israel that it did. The resolution merely said that a comprehensive peace settlement should include "the option of a possible Palestinian state."

She said that the misunderstanding had been corrected "to a considerable extent." Referring to the "grave situation in which thousands of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon find themselves, in particular following the Israeli intervention last year," she said "this vast human problem has made a considerable impact in the countries of the European Community." She said that some members of the delegation will call for "further financial and material assistance as a matter of urgency for the relief of needy refugees."

A number of Community governments insist that trade, economic and financial relations can be restored to what they were before only after Israeli troops withdraw from Lebanon, Nielsen said. She recalled that last year the European Parliament rejected as a matter of principle "the imposition of economic sanctions as an instrument of political pressure." (She made no effort to reconcile this contradiction.)

She said her delegation recognizes the potential difficulties for Israel caused by the eventual entry of Spain and Portugal into the Community. This, she said, should be taken into account during the negotiations to enlarge the Community.

Nielsen praised the Kahan Commission report and the Israeli government's reaction to it, as "a positive element which all members of our delegation recognised as being an important confirmation of Israeli democracy."

She said that "relations between the Community and Israel as well as between the Parliament and the Knesset are less good than we would like them to be."

Knesset Speaker Menachem Savidor, who made no bones about his belief that the European Community should have given Israel fairer treatment, asked why economic sanctions were applied to Israel only, though the call was heard for sanctions against other countries, such as the Soviet Union, Nigeria and Ethiopia with which the Community has economic ties.

Savidor said he had been disappointed that the delegation did not come in November as planned, because "events in the Middle East should not influence inter-parliamentary relations."

However, he admitted that his criticism with regard to the Parliament's January 11 resolution had been "a bit exaggerated," since he discovered later that the intention behind the resolution was not anti-Israel. "I expressed my apology," he said. (He was referring to the question of a Palestinian state.)

Savidor also complained that nothing had come out of European Community promises to try to persuade Greece to change its attitude to Israel when it entered the Common Market. "We are disillusioned," he said. When Spain and Portugal enter, he said, the Community should be more alert to urge full diplomatic relations between those two countries and Israel, and to protect Israel's vital economic interests. "We want economic synchronisation so that privileges to Spain and Portugal do not prejudice Israel," he said.

He said Israel agrees that it has to make a contribution to the strengthening of Spanish democracy, "including by economic means." But Israel had never asked that Spain's entry into the Common Market be delayed, he stressed in reply to a question from a Spanish journalist.

Fish breeders hit 'excessive' imports

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — Large-scale imports of fish are seriously harming the country's fish breeders and have forced some out of their business, Amnon Levin, secretary of the Fish Breeders Union, said yesterday.

He admitted that the imports provide cheaper-priced fish, but said it is inferior in quality. The imports "undercut a cheap and productive source of animal protein food grown in the Jordan Valley, Beit She'an and Galilee, which need a population that supports itself," he said. Almost all the ponds are owned by kibbutzim.

He said that the live carp — still the mainstay of the industry — are price-controlled at the breeders' request, but are the only locally produced animal protein food not subsidized. On the other hand, chickens and meat are subsidized up to 70 per cent of their retail price, he said. To give the breeders a fighting chance to compete, they want a 20 to 25 per cent subsidy from the government.

Speaking at a press conference before the union's 18th convention, which opens in Nazareth on Sunday, Levin said the breeders do not oppose all imports. "They must be restricted to reasonable proportions to complement local fisheries which cannot supply the total demand, but not to undercut them and jeopardise our future," he said. He charged that while the Agriculture Ministry is in charge of the fisheries, the Industry and Commerce Ministry is in charge of imports and favoured the businessmen.

2 films confiscated for being pornographic

The Film and Theatre Censorship Board has confiscated two films shown at the Eden Cinema in Jerusalem, because they are suspected of being pornographic. The films, *From Sweden with Love* and *The Masseuses*, were allegedly screened after projecting a permit to show another permitted film.



Interior Minister Yosef Burg being made up prior to appearing on the Moked television show which went over to colour on Wednesday. (I.P.A.)

One man's fish is his own 'poison'

By YAACOV FRIEDLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — Ra'anana Naim, the Alignment Knesset Member who said that *gulfite fish* made him puke, breeds the carp from which the East European delicacy is made. His village of Ramot Naphtali in Galilee is the only moshav in the country to breed such fish.

Naim made headlines last year when, in alleging discrimination against Sephardi Jews in the Labour party, he uttered the sentence: "Gulfite fish makes me puke!" Last night Naim confirmed that the Ramot Naphtali fishpond is a joint moshav concern belonging to all the members and that it is making money. He told *The Jerusalem Post*: "We feed them to people who like them, and I hope they eat them in good health."

The village, which is regarded as a relatively small-scale producer, has an annual production of some 40 tons of fish.

Cash delay may close Na'amat day-care centres

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The 20,000 preschool children who attend Na'amat day-care centres may have to stay home if IS20 million that the Labour and Social Affairs Ministry owes Na'amat is not paid within a few days. The organization's secretary-general, Moshe Lubelsky, said centre workers are bitter because they did not get their full salaries — including raises and retroactive payments promised in the new public employees wage pact — and Na'amat cannot cover the expense without the government allotment.

A ministry spokesman could say only that it is considering the problem. The money from the ministry pays for day care to children of families on welfare and supplements the tuition fees paid by working mothers whose salaries are too small to enable them to pay full tuition. But not even full fees paid by some mothers really covers costs, and Na'amat must make up the deficit from its own resources, Na'amat spokeswoman said.

Herzliya city council ousts deputy mayor

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HERZLIYA. — Yigal Barzilai, deputy mayor of Herzliya, was yesterday ousted from office by a special meeting of the municipal council called for the purpose. His term will end formally at the end of the month.

Barzilai, who was Mayor Yosef Nivo's personal assistant, and Nivo have not been able to work together for the past two years.

Lebanese 'black market' for Israeli produce

By YITZHAK OKED
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The vegetable smuggling between Israel and Lebanon is increasing, and farming officials charge that not enough is being done to stop it.

One source estimates that vegetables worth about \$300,000 were smuggled into Lebanon in January. He added that the illegal transactions are hurting the economy and farmers in a number of ways.

"All or most of this sum is under the table, so no taxes are being paid," he explained. Israeli farmers do not always sell the best produce to the Lebanese, angering consumers and harming *bona fide* commerce with Lebanon. It also may cause shortages and price rise in Israel.

The source said that the current shortage and high prices of tomatoes and other vegetables have been caused mainly by the wet winter. But the illegal commerce with Lebanon might have exacerbated the situation, he added.

Farmers in the Sharon explained how Lebanese merchants come to Israel together with Israeli middlemen, and usually close their deals right in the field. The Lebanese pay cash, usually dollars.

An eyewitness at one of the Lebanese border crossings described how produce trucks then arrive, usually with false documents and receipts. Once, a Vegetable Marketing Board controller tried to make a more serious check, but was threatened that if he did not stop, he would suffer bodily harm. The source said that very few truckloads of illegally bought produce have been caught at the border and confiscated.

A Board official said that there have been such confiscations since the Lebanon war began last June, but he could not say how many. He asserted that all produce crossing the border has proper documentation.

Agriculture Ministry spokesman Naftali Yaniv said that the police are responsible for supervising produce into Lebanon.

Argov defendant annoys judge

By HYAM CORNEY
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

LONDON. — Marwan al-Banna, one of the three Arabs accused of attempting to assassinate Israeli Ambassador Shlomo Argov here last June, was a member of the Arab terror movement for 18 months but did not know that it had a military wing called al-Assifa, he told the Old Bailey jury here yesterday.

Under cross-examination by prosecution counsel Roy Amlott, Al-Banna denied that it was his job to look after weapons and explosives and that he took his orders from Naouf Rosan, another of the defendants.

Al-Banna admitted collecting in-

formation about Israeli and other Jews in Britain and giving it to "people who came from Jordan." The information was published in a magazine called *Falastin*, which, he said, "could be printed anywhere in the world, in Jordan, the West Bank, Europe," depending on the situation.

Al-Banna's uncle is married to a sister of Sabri al-Banna, leader of the Abu Nidal group.

He admitted that he considers Israeli Jews his enemies and once asked permission to answer a question in writing, because he was afraid that it might affect his family in Jordan. He claims that when he

went back for a visit to the West Bank, he spent eight hours in a small cell.

He described his father as being "quite wealthy" and able to support him financially. He denies receiving money from the movement and says that the \$2,000 found by the police in his room after the shooting was given to him by his father.

He repeatedly told the court that he is innocent. "Why can't you believe me?" He annoyed the judge by "making speeches" instead of simply answering the questions and at one point the judge, Justice Mars-Jones, warned him: "Unless you obey my instructions, I will have to take some action."

'Drop rally; Levy asks Labour party

By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Deputy Prime Minister David Levy yesterday called on the Alignment to cancel the mass demonstration it plans for tomorrow night, because "it is the total negation of the spirit of national unity and reconciliation."

Levy, who was the guest of political reporters here, added, "If there is a sincere desire for a national unity government, there is no place for such a demonstration."

Raising his voice, Levy asked, "What does Labour want — to bring down a government that has a solid Knesset majority by a street demonstration? Is this moderation, responsibility and unity — or fostering national discord?"

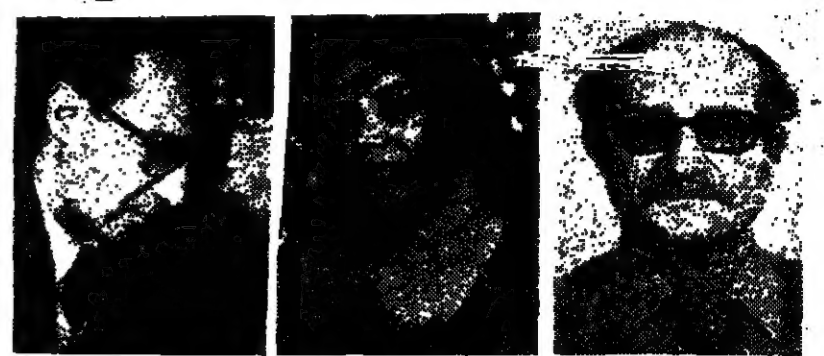
"There is no justification for a move of this sort once the government has faithfully fulfilled the recommendations of the Kahan Commission," he continued.

Levy said that "in principle, the idea of a national unity government is attractive to all of us, but in reality there is the problem of the Labour Party resolution against entering any coalition under Likud leadership."

He also stressed that the Likud will not be able to agree to Labour demand to halt or freeze the settlement effort.

Levy protested against "idle speculation that Herut ministers are seeking to prevent the appointment of Moshe Arens as defence minister, lest he become Begin's heir-apparent. He is highly qualified and can only be a great asset to the government and the nation."

Three popular songsters to get Israel Prize in music



Moshe Wilensky, Naomi Shemer, Haim Hefer.

Three leading figures in the world of Hebrew popular music will receive the Israel Prize this year, the first time the award will be made in the category.

The Education and Culture Ministry announced yesterday that a full prize will be awarded to composer-songwriter Naomi Shemer, and another will be shared by composer Moshe Wilensky and lyricist Haim Hefer. These and other Israel Prizes will be distributed on Independence Day, April 18, in Jerusalem.

Shemer was born in 1930, in Kvitza Kinneret, and began playing the piano at an early age. She studied at the Tel Aviv and Jerusalem music academies, and returned in 1951 to the kibbutz, teaching music and writing her first songs.

She moved to Tel Aviv in 1956, and in 1960 attained recognition when her song *Hoppa Hey* won first prize in an Italian contest. Among her most famous songs are *Jerusalem of Gold* and *The Binding of Isaac*.

Wilensky was born in Poland in 1910. After studying music at the Warsaw Conservatory, he came to Eretz Yisrael in 1932. Here, he first became known as a composer of music for the light theatre. His

songs became hits during the War of Independence Period. (*Shir habatlanin*, *Hakrav ha'aharon*), and the 1936 Sinai Campaign (*Mul har Sinai*).

He has written over 1,000 songs, including many with words by Bialik (*Yom Kayitz yom ham*). Afterward (*Elimelech Kalaniyot*) and many other poets and lyricists. He also composed music for prayers from the Song of Songs and the book of Isaiah.

Hefer was also born in Poland, in 1925. He came to this country in 1936, and grew up in Ra'anana, joining the Palmah at age 17. While a student at the Hebrew University in the early 1950s, he began publishing poems in the press, and wrote songs for light theatre and night clubs.

Among his well-known songs are *Haya zemanim*, *Shir hashhechuna*, *Hafinjan*, and *Hasefa ha'adom*.

Hefer also composed music for the film *Metulla*, an Israel Defence Forces patrol yesterday found three sacks, containing a total of 30 kilograms of hashish, just inside the Lebanese border north of here. Two Lebanese discovered nearby with a Peugeot van were arrested.

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COME TO A MASS MEETING

at 8 p.m., Saturday, February 19
Kikar Malchei Yisrael, Tel Aviv

Bring candles, to be lighted at the start of the meeting.

We shall all cry aloud:

NO MORE!

LABOUR ALIGNMENT

Labour Party • Mapam • Citizens Rights • Independent Liberals

Labour fosters Jewish-Arab ties in Galilee

ACRE (Iltim). — The Labour Party will hold a meeting next month of Arab and Jewish local-authority heads in Galilee to foster cooperation between the two sectors and counter activists on both sides who want to prevent it, party minorities branch director Ra'anana Cohen said yesterday.

Cohen was extremely critical of a threat by Galilee Council Chairman Menachem Ariav to cancel a planned meeting of all area local authority heads, Jewish and Arab, if the Arab leaders go ahead with a rally to protest against the allocation of some of their lands to the Misgav regional council. A first such Jewish-Arab meeting was held recently in Afula, and the next one is scheduled for early March in Tiberias.

Cohen stressed that all talk of calling off the meeting is unnecessary and only damages the complex and sensitive web of relations between the two peoples. We must, he said, live in peace and seek positive aspects of the relationship, since every other path is fraught with danger. Conscious obliviousness by Jews to their Arab countrymen is contrary to the interests of the State of Israel, he said.

Ariav's threat has wrought dissension among the Galilee Arab leaders, only some of whom want to involve their committee of local-authority heads in the struggle against the land transfer.

MT. SCOPUS ROAD. — A section of the road encircling the Hebrew University's campus on Mt. Scopus in Jerusalem was yesterday named for the late professor Gershom Scholem, as part of the proceedings of the annual conference on Jewish thought, dedicated this year to Scholem's memory.

For Freedom of Speech Freedom From Violence Democracy For Sticking to Principles and Against an Impotent Unity Government

Join Us in a Mass Rally

Saturday night, 8.00 p.m. at Kikar Malchei Yisrael, Tel Aviv

Buses for the demonstration will depart from:

| | | |
|-----------|--------------------------------|--|
| Haifa | at 5.00 p.m., at 5.15 p.m., | The Tzrif, Kiryat Haim Ziv Square; Central Carmel |
| Beersheba | at 5.00 p.m., | Central Bus Station; Soroka Hospital; Entrance to Omer |
| Ashkelon | at 5.30 p.m., | Afridar Centre |
| Rehovot | at 6.45 p.m., | Gordon Plaza |
| Jerusalem | at 5.30 p.m., | Ramat Eshkol Supermarket; Binyanei Ha'uma; Denmark Square; Kiryat Hayovel Supermarket; Denmark School; Jerusalem Theatre |

Buses for Shomrei Shabbat will leave from Binyanei Ha'uma at 6.30 p.m.

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P.O.B. 198, Jerusalem; P.O.B. 21240, Tel Aviv; P.O.B. 329, Haifa; P.O.B. 1374, Beersheba. Contributions: The First International Bank, Billet Branch, Jerusalem, acc. 105-925950.

Soviets now propose on-site nuclear checks

GENEVA (Reuters). — The Soviet Union, long opposed to having outside inspectors checking its compliance with arms agreements, yesterday proposed a system of on-site inspections for a treaty banning all nuclear testing.

Soviet Ambassador Viktor Israelyan told the 40-nation Committee on Disarmament that states signing the treaty could demand on-site inspections if they suspected violations of the ban and complain to the UN Security Council if their

requests were not granted. If the treaty was accepted each state would undertake "to cooperate in carrying out any investigations which the Security Council may initiate," he told the UN-affiliated body, which has been discussing a total test ban since a 1963 treaty banned all but underground tests.

Western diplomats said the idea seemed linked to Moscow's agreement last week to allow the International Atomic Energy Agency

(IAEA) to inspect its peaceful nuclear facilities, its first concession to the strict monitoring favoured by western states.

But U.S. delegate Louis Fields, who last week proposed regular on-site checks for a chemical weapons ban, said the U.S. will have to study the plan for any new elements. It seems to stop short of guaranteed inspections, he said.

While the committee was in session, five anti-nuclear demonstrators covered themselves

with their own blood in a "die in" protest outside.

The five, wearing white shirts bearing the names of European countries, sprawled as if dead at the gates of the Soviet diplomatic mission here. A spokeswoman for the demonstrators said they belong to no particular group, but are "individuals who feel very strongly."

The protesters distributed a statement saying they bloodied themselves "to show the negotiators the consequences of the arms race."

Reagan: SD win in Bonn could upset nuclear strategy

WASHINGTON. — U.S. President Ronald Reagan said Wednesday night that his nuclear strategy will receive a terrible setback if West Germans next month elect a government opposed to the planned deployment of U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

Reagan, who stood firm on his zero-option negotiating position in European missile talks with the Soviet Union, hastily added at a news conference that he was not interfering in another country's internal affairs.

He was confident that the German Federal Republic and other allies will support his nuclear policy and believed the planned deployment of 572 Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles in Western Europe

will not affect the outcome of the election.

The president's remarks about the European missile negotiations with Moscow came as Senate opposition grew against his choice of Kenneth Adelman as arms-control director.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, where a majority views Adelman as a hard-liner opposed to genuine arms control, postponed a vote Wednesday, and several members urged the president to withdraw the nomination. But Reagan said he will not do so, and said the delay in Adelman's confirmation is damaging U.S. arms-control efforts.

Commenting on domestic issues, Reagan said he hopes a compromise

jobs bill to ease the 10.4 per cent unemployment rate can be worked out with Congress in the next few days and approved by March. The package would contain \$4 billion to create 470,000 jobs, \$2.9b. in extended unemployment insurance benefits and \$300m. for humanitarian aid to the indigent.

Reagan promised that there will be no coverage of alleged wrongdoing in the Environmental Protection Agency, whose administrator, Anne Gorsuch, has been cited for contempt of Congress for refusing to turn over documents related to hazardous waste cleanup.

Gorsuch originally withheld the documents under orders from the president, who said executive

privilege permits him to prevent the release of sensitive material. But last night he said he can no longer insist on executive privilege if there is any suspicion of wrongdoing.

Reagan refused to comment when asked about what qualifications he will look for to replace Paul Volcker, whose term as chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve Board is expiring. "I don't believe in talking about possible appointments in advance," he said.

The president also said he would not back off the change in income tax laws that indexes Americans' wages to guard against their tax bills going up because they are put into a higher bracket by inflation. (Reuters, AP)

Police discount report Shergar smuggled to Middle East

DUBLIN. — Police discounted reports yesterday that the missing \$13 million racehorse Shergar had been smuggled to the Middle East, and revealed a new clue in the search for the stallion.

Anonymous telephone calls to the British Broadcasting Corporation studio in Belfast and to the Belfast Newsletter newspaper said the Aga Khan's champion seed had been taken to the Middle East after a "financial transaction," and would be used as a stud.

The caller told Newsletter editor David Kirk that he was "spilling the beans" because the gang that snatched Shergar from the Aga Khan's Ballymany stud farm nine days ago had split up and he and two others had been left behind without a share of the money.

But Superintendent Noel Anderson told a news conference: "We are working on the assumption that the horse is still in Ireland. We have no concrete proof that he has left the country."

Anderson disclosed an important new clue in the hunt for Shergar throughout the 26-county republic and six counties of neighbouring

Northern Ireland.

He said a "passerby" had told police he saw a dirty horsebox being towed into the Aga Khan's County Kildare stud farm the night of the crime.

"It was light blue or green and was double-axled and in a bad condition," Anderson told reporters.

Until now, the only solid clue revealed by police was a description of three men seen acting suspiciously near the stud farm at Newbridge, 48 kilometres west of Dublin, just before the abduction.

Police codenamed them "the jockey, the nose and the guard" because one looked like a jockey, one had a prominent nose and the other wore a guard's or policeman's uniform.

The anonymous caller told Kirk that a call last Friday saying Shergar was dead was really a coded message to someone in Northern Ireland confirming that the horse was safely out of the country.

In another call, a ransom demand for \$60,000 was made by mistake, the caller told the Newsletter editor. (AP, Reuters)

British arms dealer cleared of smuggling arms to Iran, Iraq

DALLAS (Reuters). — A federal jury Wednesday acquitted British arms dealer Ian Smalley of all five charges that he had conspired to smuggle arms to Iran and Iraq, and the jury foreman criticized the U.S. government for bringing the case to trial.

"I think the government owes him an apology," said Thomas Dyer, who led the jurors through more than three days of deliberations.

"I was outraged when I heard the evidence," Dyer said, explaining that he felt the government clearly failed to support its case.

He also said the seven-man, five-woman jury had been deadlocked 11-1 for acquittal for several days

until the holdout juror changed his mind.

Smalley, 42, who describes himself as "an international arms dealer," had pleaded not guilty.

He was arrested last September in a Dallas hotel after agents of the Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms searched his room and seized "military guns" he had purchased from a sporting goods store in the city.

Smalley was charged with conspiring to export illegally 8,300 anti-tank missiles to Iraq and 100 tanks to Iran and of possessing documents that said the weapons would be sold to Jordan and the United Arab Emirates.

Army restores order in Bangladesh

DACCA (AP). — The army yesterday restored order in Bangladesh's two chief cities after five civilians were reported killed and more than 100 injured in two days of demonstrations against the military government.

Thousands in Dhacca, the capital, and Chittagong, the main seaport, took part Wednesday in the sharpest public confrontation with Lieutenant-General H.M. Ershad's regime since it seized power last March. The army responded with its biggest show of strength since the takeover.

The government also closed

Nine Solidarity activists convicted

WARSAW (AP). — A military court yesterday convicted nine Poles of making clandestine Radio Solidarity broadcasts under martial law, and sentenced the main defendant to four years and six months in prison.

The sentences, announced by the official Interpress news agency, were lighter than requested by the military prosecutor, who asked the court to sentence the leader of the group, Zbigniew Romaszewski, to eight years behind bars.

Romaszewski, wife, Irena Zofia Romaszewska, 36, was sentenced to three years in prison, starting from the date of her arrest July 5, 1982. Three of those convicted received suspended sentences. The court released only 24-year-old Zbigniew Pietrzak, pending an appeal of the terms by the military prosecutor.

Radio Solidarity caused a sensation with its first broadcast four months after the December 13, 1981 declaration of martial law and made about a dozen subsequent transmissions in Warsaw.

France, USSR sign science pact

MOSCOW (AP). — French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko yesterday signed a 10-year agreement on scientific and technical cooperation, TASS reported. Cheysson arrived Wednesday night on an official visit, the first by a French foreign minister since 1979. He carried a personal message from French President Francois

Mitterrand for Soviet Communist Party leader Yuri Andropov.

The agreement on scientific and technical cooperation replaces an earlier agreement of the same type. French-Soviet cooperation has been particularly close in space research. Last summer, a French cosmonaut, the first non-American Westerner to fly in space, spent a week aboard the Soviet space station Salyut.

Nazi murders 'not covered' by statute

BONN (AP). — Prosecutors and courts in West Germany were still investigating 1,671 war crime suspects in 1982 and the central office for the investigation of Nazi crimes in Ludwigsburg was busy with another 125 cases, Justice Minister Hans Engelhard was quoted as saying yesterday. In connection with the deportation to France of Klaus Barbie, the former Gestapo secret-service chief of Nazi-occupied Lyons, Engelhardt told the Munich-based illustrated weekly Quick that murder does not fall under the statute of limitations.

"Nazi crimes do not fall under the statute of limitations even 38 years after the end of the war," Engelhardt reiterated. The magazine said Nazi crime suspects still wanted include Auschwitz doctor Josef Mengele who lives in Paraguay; gas extermination-truck inventor Walter Rauff in Chile; Gestapo chief Heinrich Mueller, whose traces were lost in Panama; concentration-camp official Walter Kutschmann, who lives in Buenos Aires and Adolf Eichmann's deputy, Alois Brunner, who fled from Argentina to Syria. Depending on the outcome of legal proceedings against Barbie in France, West Germany has reserved the right to put the former "Butcher of Lyons" on trial.



Police officials go through the burned-out remains of a car Wednesday after a man was killed near Adelaide when a raging bush fire moved through the area. A state of emergency was declared in the area. (UPI telephoto).

Raging bush fires claim 68 lives in Australia

MELBOURNE (Reuters). — Rescue workers pulled more charred bodies from burned-out homes and cars yesterday as devastating bush fires continued to rage through Southern Australia.

Officials put the known death toll at 68, but said the figure could rise as rescue teams sifted through the blackened remains of towns and villages.

Police expect the toll could surpass Australia's worst bushfire in 1931, which killed 71. Officials said more than 8,000 people have been left homeless by the fire. Damage was estimated at \$340 million.

The fires have raged backwards and forwards over several parts of the region, destroying whole towns along an 800-kilometre belt from Melbourne in Victoria to Adelaide in South Australia.

Fanned by 80 kilometres-per-hour winds, the flames leaped across roads, leaving people with little time to even get out of the cars in which they were fleeing the inferno.

Hospital officials, working flat out to deal with the flood of victims, are reluctant to put a firm figure on those injured. Earlier yesterday officials put the number at almost 1,000.

Several areas are still ablaze and fire authorities said they have contained, but not controlled, most of the worst outbreaks.

Police said they were investigating reports that some of the fires were lit deliberately.

The fires started Wednesday in scorching 40C temperatures, and burst through forests and farmland left tinder dry by the country's worst drought this century.

The speed and scope of the terror wrought as the fires raged through the night were beyond the resources of official preparations for major disasters, government officials said.

Fire chiefs said the worst might be over but warned the flames could flare again.

Troops were ordered into the region by Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser who, along with opposition leader Bob Hawke, has suspended campaigning for the March 5 national elections until the full extent of the havoc is clear.

The armed forces will give the firefighters, mainly volunteers, a break from almost 48 hours of non-stop toil. They will also help in the huge relief operation now getting under way to ensure the victims have food and shelter.

Jailed wife makes TV appeal to husband to give self up

FARGO, North Dakota (AP). — The jailed wife of an anti-tax rebel hunted in the slayings of two law-enforcement officers' went before television cameras Wednesday and begged her husband to surrender.

"Please, Gordon, please," Joan Kahl, wife of 63-year-old Gordon Kahl, said. "They won't hurt you."

Kahl has eluded officers since Sunday night, when a group of anti-tax militants blasted their way out of an attempt by U.S. marshals to arrest them. Five have since been arrested, but Kahl, the main target, has remained at large. "I've been treated real well here," Mrs. Kahl said in the appeal. "Our son is in critical condition, two men are dead, others are going to be hurt. I don't want to see you dead too."

Mrs. Kahl, 62, her son Yori, 23, and three other men have been charged with murder in the slayings of the two marshals.

Kahl, who was found guilty of income-tax evasion in 1977, was ordered to spend five years on probation, but allegedly had failed to comply with the terms.

Authorities said he was active in Posse Comitatus, a paramilitary group known for its opposition to federal taxing authority and its association with extremist right-wing groups.

30 believed killed as vote resumes in India

NEW DELHI (AP). — Thirty people were reported slain in a day of bloody rioting and arson yesterday in Assam state. Nearly 85 per cent of the 2.35 million eligible voters did not cast ballots in the second round of controversial state and parliamentary elections.

Information from the remote state in northeast India said hundreds of additional paramilitary troops were airlifted to the region to quell spreading violence. More than 70,000 men of the paramilitary central reserve police force and the border security force have already been deployed in Assam.

State officials confirmed 29 deaths in the latest rioting. News reports said one other person was killed by police gunfire in Kamrup district, bringing the two-week toll in political and communal violence to 332.

Bowling Funds

TEL AVIV. — Nearly 250 men and women have registered for the Israel Bowls Association's second annual charity day, scheduled for tomorrow at the country's six bowling clubs: Caesarea, Kfar Hamaccabiah, Netanya, Ra'anana, Ramat Gan and Savon. The event is again being held in aid of the Jerusalem Post Toy Fund and Forsake Me Not Fund, and of The Soldiers Welfare Association.

In case of rain, the event will be postponed until next weekend.

Sports

England juniors in welcome tour

By PAUL KOHN
Post Sports Reporter

TEL AVIV. — England's National Youth soccer team makes a most welcome visit to Israel next week, a development being heralded by delighted local football officials as timely re-forging of football ties between the two countries. Although English club sides visit here regularly for friendly games, this will be the first time after an 18-year break that Israeli and English representative teams will face each other on the football pitch.

The English side (under-18) will play two matches at the Ramat Gan National Stadium, on Monday. They will be hosted by their Israeli counterparts who recently narrowly failed to win a qualifying tournament in Costa Rica for a place in the World Junior Finals. On Wednesday they will play Israel's Olympic Squad.

The English side boasts some extremely talented youngsters from the top divisions of the English league. Several are mooted to have a promising future in the full national side. Their manager is Graham Taylor of high-flying Watford whose enterprising style during recent seasons has sparked great interest in the whole British football world.

Malone and Cheeks keep Nuggets in check

NEW YORK (AP). — The Philadelphia 76ers, led by Moses Malone's 21 points and Maurice Cheeks' 20, trounced the Denver Nuggets 116-95 in Wednesday night's main National Basketball Association game. It was only the second time this season the usually free-scoring Nuggets were held under 100 points.

Elsewhere, the Utah Jazz stunned the San Antonio Spurs 122-101, the Boston Celtics defeated the Seattle SuperSonics 108-100, the Milwaukee Bucks outlasted the Detroit Pistons 126-124 in overtime, the Cleveland Cavaliers edged the Dallas Mavericks 99-96, the Phoenix Suns defeated the Kansas City Kings 111-102 and the Chicago Bulls beat the Indiana Pacers 117-107.

Spain find way through defensive Dutch

SEVILLE (Reuters). — Spain kept its hunt for a place in the European soccer championship finals next year when they laboured to a 1-0 win over the Netherlands in a group seven qualifying match here. Josu Senor scored the only goal from the penalty spot a minute before full time.

The Dutch, once one of the most attractive attacking sides in the world, played with four defenders, five midfielders and only one striker — establishing a defensive tactic which the Spanish rarely found a way through. But left-winger Francisco Carrasco managed to outsmart the Dutch defence in the 44th minute and goalkeeper Piet Schrijvers was forced to pull him down. Senor sent Schrijvers the wrong way with the resultant penalty.

Spain's victory took them level on points with the Dutch, who remain on top of the group table on goal difference. They have played one game more than Spain.

NATIONAL CROSS-COUNTRY

TEL AVIV. — Arich Gendel and Zohar Shmueli will both be going for their fifth consecutive titles at the 22nd annual Israel Cross Country Championships, to be held at 10:30 a.m. at Yarkon Park here tomorrow. The cross-country 11 a.m. The men will run over an 11-km course while for the women the distance is 5.5 km. A total of 300 athletes are expected to take part in the programme, which includes a variety of events for youth and adults.

BASKETBALL: In the European Cup Winners Cup semi-final first leg, Villeneuve of France defeated Don Bosch of Holland 88-83 and Savonlinna of Finland beat Olympique Lyonnais 97-78. In the Euro Cup semi-final first leg, KK Zadar beat KK Sibenik 79-70 in all-Yugoslav clash.

ICE HOCKEY: NL results — New York Rangers 5 Washington Capitals 4; Toronto Maple Leafs 6 St. Louis Blues 3; Chicago Blackhawks 5 Calgary Flames 3; Buffalo Sabres 1 Boston Bruins 1.

BOXING: WBC champion S.T. Gordon narrowly defeated his underweight title when he stopped veteran Jesse Barnett in the eighth round in New Jersey. It was Gordon's first professional win since he won the title from Carlos Delon of Puerto Rico last June.

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We would also like to inform the public that new German language courses for beginners and advanced students, organized in cooperation with the Goethe Institute, will be held in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Kfar Saba, Haifa, Beersheba. The courses will be held only if there is sufficient response. Details as follows:

JERUSALEM: Enrolment: February 20, 21 and 24 from 6:30 to 8:00 p.m. at 15 Sokolow Street. Information: Tel. 02-533152 and

Enrolment: February 21 and 22 from 5:30 to 7:30 p.m. at the Secretariat of the I.C.C.Y., 12A Emek Refaim St. Information: Tel. 02-690410

TEL AVIV: Enrolment: February 28, March 1 and 2 from 4 to 7 p.m. at Hayovel School, 19 Modigliani St. (near the Chief Rabbinate, David Hamelech Ave.) Information: Tel. 03-701885 or 701851

KFAR SABA: Only a few seats left for students with some knowledge of German. Enrolment: February 20-24 from 10 to 12 a.m. and 6-8 p.m. at the Municipality of Kfar Saba, Youth Culture House, 12 Geula St. Information: Tel. 052-35648

HAIFA: Enrolment: February 20 and 21 from 7:15 to 9:30 p.m. at Moacanin Hacham, 103 Sderot Hanassi. Information: Tel. 04-264348, 04-82585, 04-245348

BEERSHEBA: Enrolment: February 20 from 6 to 8 p.m. at Ben-Gurion University. Building Cukier, Goren, Goldstein, Faculty of Humanities and Social Science, room no. 233. Information: Tel. 057-35327

KOPEL TOURS

WELCOMES

THE DELEGATION OF

THE JEWISH WAR VETERANS

OF THE U.S.A.

AND LADIES' AUXILIARY

TO THE THIRD WORLD ASSEMBLY



ASSOCIATION OF AMERICANS & CANADIANS IN ISRAEL

All North American Kibbutz and Moshav Members are cordially invited to a Yom Iyun on "The Hityashvut Community and the Quality of Life" on Monday, March 7, 1983 from 8:30 a.m. - 2:00 p.m. at Beit Millman, 32 Tagora Street, Ramat Aviv

Workshop Topics are: Founders and Sons — the Aged/Interacting With Your Community/Interacting With Our Arab Neighbours/Jewish Identification in Hityashvut/Ecology/Women in Hityashvut/Academics in Hityashvut/Return to Nature — A Challenge to the North American Oleh

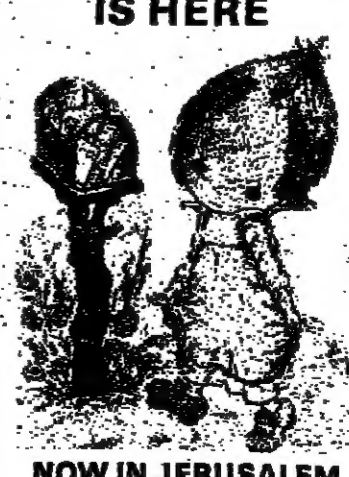
For further information, please call National AACI: Tel. 02-240446.

Civil Defence (Haga)

Exercise on Sunday in Yavne Area

A civil defence (Haga) exercise will be held in the Yavne area on Sunday, February 20, between 6 a.m. and 4 p.m. During the course of the exercise, there will be simulated explosions, and the all clear signal will be sounded. In case of an actual alert, sirens will be sounded on an ascending-descending scale.

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IS IT FAIR TO ALL CONCERNED?

WILL IT BUILD GOODWILL AND BETTER FRIENDSHIPS?

WILL IT BE BENEFICIAL TO ALL CONCERNED?



ROTARY ISRAEL

EXPLOSION OF PASSION

The Post's Mark Segal talks to three Likud spokesmen about the extraordinary escalation in political tension.

LIKUD MK Ronnie Milo hopes his proposal for a calming of passions at both ends of the political spectrum.

"The impact of the killing of the Peace Now demonstrator must bring everyone to their senses," says the 33-year-old Milo, who heads Herut's Knesset faction.

"At one extreme they cry 'Begin murderer,' and at the other 'Peres-PLD.' I thought that an actual meeting of the two leaders, and the fact that people would see them talking in a friendly way on TV, would pacify the situation."

People, he continues, must learn to accept that political rivalry and ideological struggles are an integral part of normal democratic procedure, which should not lead to extreme reactions.

Milo was shocked by the haste with which two front-bench Alignment spokesmen — Motta Gur and Victor Shemtov — went on the air soon after the grenade was thrown outside the Prime Minister's Office to blame the government for the murder.

"That's very serious indeed. If all sorts of lunatic fringe elements scream irresponsible slogans, that upsets me. But when key Alignment leaders talk this way, then that's incitement and a blood-libel against the premier and his colleagues. Such extremist talk could cause an even worse chain-reaction."

Interviewed by *The Jerusalem Post* this week, Milo recalled how Begin, after the sinking of the *Alatena* in 1948, had prevented civil war by exercising his authority over his IZL followers.

"It's my feeling that some elements want to exploit last week's tragedy and make political profit out of it. I think they're really making a mistake, which will rebound on them. After all, when that madman threw a grenade at Ben-Gurion in the Knesset, no one at the time charged that democracy was in danger."

"Isn't democracy in danger in Israel today?" I ask.

"The Herut front-bencher did not think so, especially since everyone serves in the army so there is no danger of a coup. What is dangerous is the deepening rift between opposing political camps. People can't yet double standards in expressions of democracy, praise an anti-government rally of 400,000 as the height of democracy, yet label a pro-Begin rally of 250,000 as rabble-rousing and anti-democratic," Milo remarked indignantly.

What of Ariel Sharon labeling the opposition "fifth columnists" from the Knesset podium?

"The flow of Milo's words dried up for a moment before he declared: 'I never heard him saying that.' He argued that no one should dismiss his adversaries as traitors or charge them with 'stabbing the nation in the back.' No, he could not think of any serious political figure who had used such epithets.

Did that exclude the Likud magazine *Yoman Hashavua*, of which he is chief editor? After all, at the height of the Lebanon war, it headlined a story about a bereaved mother thus: "I could shoot Yossi Sarid."

"The young Herutnik reacted indignantly. 'We only used that headline after other publications ran a story quoting another bereaved mother saying: "I could shoot Arik Sharon." Milo assured me: "It was our aim to cool tempers."

NEXT, we discussed the idea of a national unity government and its prospects. The Likud MK agreed that there were good internal and external reasons for implementing such an idea. It would be all to the good to re-establish a national consensus when facing the outside world. There were at least four issues on which the Likud and Labour could find a common denominator: they both oppose a Palestinian state and dealing with the PLO; they are both for a united Jerusalem and against returning to the 1967 borders.

On the other hand, he pointed out, the objective problems exist that the two big parties differ most decidedly on the Reagan plan.

"I would be happy if a magic formula could be found to establish a common denominator for a wall-to-wall coalition. After all, the Reagan plan would adversely affect us all," he declared.

Addressing Ronnie Milo the lawyer, rather than the politician or the brother-in-law of Begin's daughter, Hassia, I asked whether he thought the government had indeed implemented all the Kahan Commission's recommendations. Yes, he had, he replied, saying that it was inconceivable that the cabinet shouldn't adopt the recommenda-

tions of a commission it had itself appointed.

"I personally have some reservations about the report," he admitted. "I think there is a striking lack of balance between the contents of the report and its concrete recommendations. They are terribly strict if one sees them in the context of what the body of the report had to say — and that is also the view of the president of the Bar Association, Dr. Amnon Goldenberg. Personally, I hold that the commission did an injustice, particularly to the army commanders. There's also a lack of logic in its recommendation that Tat-Aluf Amos Yaron should not hold a field command for the next three years — as if it was a court. The commission was not a disciplinary tribunal. Under its terms of reference, it had to submit recommendations on the basis of its findings, and not more."

The MK-lawyer claimed that a common misconception was that "the commission's report is on a par with the verdict of a law court, and that it cannot be subjected to criticism." He argued against the notion that a judicial inquiry commission was a court of inquiry, when it was a body set up by the government to submit a report within the terms of the inquiry Commissions Law.

Pursuing this line, Milo said that even court verdicts can be challenged. Even the Supreme Court, which comprises the highest level of the judiciary, can be wrong and one can question its judgment. So the same certainly goes for a judicial inquiry commission. "But there are those who for political purposes would put its findings beyond criticism."

However, the cabinet had to accept the commission's recommendations, "and as a lawyer I concur with the rule that such decisions must be upheld, and implemented. And we can continue to debate whether they were just mistakes, or whatever."

WOULDN'T leaving Sharon in the cabinet mean that Begin and the new defence minister would have a "back-seat driver" in the vehicle of state?

"That's nonsense," exclaimed Milo with exasperation. "The premier's conduct during the crisis has shown that he is very much in charge, and that he knows what he wants and how to achieve it. And he got a near-unanimous vote for it in the cabinet, and even in the Likud caucus, he carried Sharon's supporters with him. I would not say that Sharon as minister without portfolio will cause any harm. He certainly won't stop Begin from running things as he sees fit."

Turning to the party pecking order, I wondered how Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir's standing would be affected.

Milo said he did not believe Shamir's position would be undermined. Moshe Arens at defence would only strengthen Shamir, because the two men are close. He smoothly sidestepped a question on the post-commission standing in the party of Deputy Premier David Levy and Communications Minister Mordechai Zipori, who had been critical of Sharon and Shamir during the war and the commission's proceedings.

Milo argued that the Likud and its coalition government had emerged strengthened from the crisis. "Even Labour now grasps that Begin has managed so successfully to cope with the inquiry commission and its aftermath that they won't succeed in bringing down the government. They'll have to sit patiently until the next elections."

It is unlikely that there will be elections before November 1985. The Likud would like early elections, even this November, but they do not seem likely because the other parties are against such a proposal.

THE HERUT information chief, Gideon Gadot, 42, was his usual effervescent self when he welcomed me to his pleasantly appointed fifth floor office in the Mifal Hapayis building in Tel Aviv. Many fine paintings adorn the walls, but only one photograph — that of his uncle, the late Arye Ben-Eliezer, who was Begin's deputy for decades until his death in 1968.

If it may be said that Milo's connection with the "fighting family," as the inner Herut circle is known, is by marriage, Gadot was born into



Ronnie Milo: "Some elements want to exploit the tragedy."



Michael Reiser: "Our democracy is healthy."



Gideon Gadot: "All sides are equally to blame."

it. He worked as a journalist in the defunct *Herut* and *Hayom* dailies, ran a successful PR agency, and did a brilliant job as Likud campaign manager in the 1981 elections.

He reacted as if stung by a hornet when I asked if our democracy was now in danger.

"The real threat to democracy comes from those who talk about it in platitudes and cause untold harm to the process of law and order with their inflammatory phrases. It's unbelievable that Yossi Sarid should say: 'Whoever shed blood and gave license to others to spill blood cannot ask for tolerance.' What does he mean? In effect, he's accusing the government of spilling the blood of Emil Grunzweig. Isn't that verbal violence? And shouldn't he be sued for it?"

"It's a real blood libel. People don't realize it; Sarid uses fine words to couch his blood libel against the entire political camp, claiming that only the right-wing incites to violence. Did he oppose the use of the banner saying 'Begin Murderer' at the anti-government rally in Tel Aviv? And he talks of incitement to violence? His attitude, as reflected in his latest comment, only strengthens my conviction that he had a hand in the slander of violence they tried to pin on Begin during the 1981 campaign. I am now more convinced than ever that it was a provocation."

Interrupting his flow, I recalled incidents of violence against Labour chairman Shimon Peres I had witnessed at an election rally.

Gadot retorted: "Look, as someone who was deeply involved in the campaign, I know for a fact that a concerted and systematic attempt was made by Sarid and Dabaf agency's Eliezer Dujarim to stop the Likud comeback in the final phase of the 1981 campaign. They exploited a number of marginal incidents of violence by local people at various rallies and tried to pin them on to the Likud as a whole. They continued to blow them up into a national spectacle, just as they are doing right now."

"It's quite obvious that we all deplore this abominable crime [the murder of Emil Grunzweig], but it has nothing to do with the great political debate now going on in the country, which I'm sure will grow even more intense as we approach the implementation of the autonomy scheme. What we must do now is apprehend the murderer and put him on trial."

Gadot would like to propose that all political parties agree to suspend demonstrations and public rallies for the next three months. "They have a dynamic of their own. When you assemble a crowd of 100,000 or more in one place, things tend to get out of hand. You can't control people's behaviour and the banners they might wave, however inflammatory. After all, it's well known that the media and especially TV teases look for action, they don't focus their cameras on the banner that says 'Begin resign' but on the one that says 'Begin Murderer,' which is what I saw on the three U.S. networks when I happened to be in New York during that big rally in Tel Aviv. I can see it happening — the Alignment will hold a big rally, and then a dozen politicians on the other side will demand a counter-demonstration. The ball has to be stopped rolling. I maintain that all sides are equally to blame. It's a function of the general standard of our political spokesmen. Just look at the Knesset records and you'll find swear-words, nastiness and insults that used to belong only in the fish market."

Endeavouring to focus on particulars, I wondered how one should

regard Sharon's claim, immediately after the Kahan Commission's report was published, that the U.S. was out to get him and was working with the opposition to this end.

Gadot said he saw nothing "inflammatory" in this and took the opportunity to concur with the view that Washington had been intervening in Israel's internal affairs of late. There were those who even suspected that the Reagan plan had been co-ordinated with Labour's platform. "And this is fully realized by the majority of the Israeli public," he added.

Yet, I interjected, Sharon's followers had cried "Death to the Judges."

Gadot said "the sole complaint that can be made against Sharon in this matter is that he refrained from expressing his reservations about such talk. Look, I'd like to see how anyone else would behave if they'd been hung up to dry on the gallows for a few days. I wonder whether they'd have the mind to concern themselves with the spiritual state of the nation."

STEERING the conversation to the aftermath of the report, I elicited from Gadot the view that the government had emerged strengthened. The cabinet had no alternative, but to accept the findings of a commission it had appointed, echoed the young Herutnik. None the less, he found the report to be full of contradictions, especially as regards the army officers, and that was why Sharon's phrase about the commission having imprinted "the mark of Cain on our brows" had had such an effect.

He was impatient with speculation about how things might have developed had Sharon handed in his resignation immediately, instead of hanging on and, as some claim, hiding behind the officers. "It's no longer relevant, now that Sharon is out of the Defence Ministry. I for one find it hard to grasp how anyone could imagine that Menachem Begin, the stickler for the due process of law, had any alternative but to implement the report in full. But, you know, I think the two officers involved, Yaron and Saguy, will get promotions."

Gadot was much less forbearing when it came to discussing the implications of the stillborn revolt of Sharon's lobby, led by David Magen including Ehud Olmert, against the cabinet's ruling. "You know, everyone tries to jump on the bandwagon," he noted dryly. Yet he differentiated between Olmert and Magen, remarking with a sardonic tinge: "Olmert is the best pal of David Levy and of Arik Sharon, and he's equally sincere in both cases. It's not a matter of telling the truth, but of Olmert's technique."

As to Magen and his threat to form a pro-Sharon bloc with Aguda Yisrael and Tehiya to influence government policy, Gadot thought it peculiar, to say the least. And what of the suggestion that the party central committee should veto cabinet rulings?

"Having unanimously elected our party leader to be premier and even amended the law to allow him to sack ministers, it's unacceptable to argue that it's all conditional on this or that person's approval," he said.

Sharon may have taken a back seat, but Sharonism remains, I said. Didn't he fear that a Sharon faction would remain a feature in the party?

"To tell you the truth, I don't know," was his reply. "I don't know because someone as closely identified with Sharon as Magen took pains to stress his bond with Begin. Then another one who spoke out for Sharon was (Deputy Knesset Speaker) Meir Cohen-Avidov, and

he's certainly as much a friend of Yoram Aridor as he is of Sharon. In this instance he did not have to choose between the two, but one does not know how things will turn out in the future."

Generally speaking, he thought people should realize the extent to which solidarity with comrades was a factor in Herut. Whoever did not try to understand the mentality of Likud supporters would get nowhere in politics. "That's the problem of Labour," he added in parentheses. "Every time Yossi Sarid makes one of his cleverly wounding points, their prospects grow dimmer."

The idea of Sharon as a back-seat driver on Begin's wagon amused Gadot, who said: "There's no such thing where Begin is concerned. It's got to be understood that, as long as he was useful, Begin used him, but that's all over and done with." He reacted with even greater amusement to what Uri Dan, Sharon's aide said: "Whoever did not want Sharon as chief of staff got him as defence minister; whoever didn't want him as defence minister, will get him as premier." Gadot scoffed: "As it is written, since the destruction of the Temple, the gift of prophecy has been given to babes and fools."

Before parting, I managed to prod him on the party hierarchy in the aftermath of the crisis. "In my evaluation," he said soberly, "the return of Moshe Arens to the political arena, and his appointment as defence minister, will mean that under Begin there will be the trio of Aridor, Levy and Arens. The close relationship of Aridor to the premier during and since the crisis must also add a special dimension to the trio's clout."

MICHAEL REISER, MK, 37, has earned the esteem of even party rivals for his diligence and talents as organizational chief. As David Levy's chief political aide, he helped him survive the barrage of sick jokes that accompanied the former Herut Histadrut faction head's entry into national politics.

No admirer of Sharon, he can now breathe more easily since the long-time alliance between Levy and Aridor has been re-cemented. His political involvement, like Milo's, began in the Herut faction of the Tel Aviv University students' union, when he took a degree in industrial relations.

Sitting in his office in the Knesset, Reiser pondered my questions about rising violence and threats to Israeli democracy. "Israeli society has more than its share of violence," he began. "I think it's part of the general problem besetting Western democracies. We have to confront it, and not bog ourselves down pinning the blame on this or that factor. And it's not because I belong to a particular party. No one has a monopoly on good or evil. Unlike Yossi Sarid, I can produce quotes of verbal violence from both sides of the spectrum. The question facing all of us, irrespective of affiliation, is how to stop the downhill trend."

"I don't have the slightest doubt that our democracy is in a healthy state — witness the workings of the Kahan Commission and the government's adoption of its recommendations. I think the government emerged with flying colours from this crucial test with all its difficulties. After all, the attorney-general did rule that the government had implemented the report; if he had held otherwise, then we would have been faced with a real problem as far as the workings of our democracy are concerned. All the other comments, demands and questions are legitimate enough but

that's beyond the Commission's findings."

At the same time, however, Reiser fears that the increase of violence could mean the erosion of democracy. This works in two ways — the democratic process is weakened and the "resultant growing sense of panic among wide segments of the population leads to the demand for a strong man to take charge and impose strong rule, and maintain law and order even at the expense of the law itself and justice. That's why if we want to buttress our democracy we must, all of us, cooperate in curbing violence."

REISER attributes the rise of violence in this country to the convergence of a number of developments and social trends: communal ferment, friction between the religious and the secular, and the change of government.

In the young Herut MK's considered opinion: "Too many in Labour have not yet absorbed the fact that they have lost power. They haven't yet adjusted to being in the opposition. The Likud's debut reached its climax quite early on, with the visit of Sadat to Jerusalem, and the rest of its first term in office was an anti-climax with expectations of an imminent fall."

Pursuing his theme of intolerance from the left, Reiser referred with bitterness to the statement of one of Israel's leading poets, Prof. Nathan Zach, forbidding the public reading of his poems in Judea and Samaria. And then there was "the manner in which author Amos Oz chose a Labour election campaign TV spot to divide the nation into 'them' and 'us,' into a superior and an inferior culture. What Oz did was to highlight the identification between party and community. The logical development for members of the communities is that any epithet or even the most objective criticism against the government and the Likud is interpreted as aimed at them personally."

What about Peres being stopped from speaking in Kiryat Shmona? Reiser said: "It's easy to complain about unsophisticated people in Kiryat Shmona, but my complaints are with the intelligentsia who should know better."

The best way to heal the wounds and surmount the rifts dividing the country was, a national unity government, said Reiser, who raised the idea half a year before the 1981 elections. According to his notion the elections would have focused on the territorial issue, on the Likud's Camp David formula and Labour's territorial compromise concept, and the subsequent coalition would have cleaved to the line favoured by the largest number of voters.

For Reiser the main problem facing Israel, apart from security issues, is social well-being and internal cohesion and the best way of tackling the burning social problems is to bring the two main parties into the same coalition.

HIS REACTION to my question about Sharon's inflammatory statements following the publication of the Commission's findings differed from the other two. "On the one hand let's say you shouldn't judge a man until you find yourself in his place. Yet let me say that I was much more impressed by the reactions of the chief of staff, of the head of army intelligence and of Tat-Aluf Yaron than of Sharon," he declared diplomatically.

As to how the Likud government had emerged from the crisis, Reiser contended that it had done quite well, all things considered. "The report was most stringent in its findings and recommendations, yet the government did not fall, nor has the coalition been shaken. In the short run the government has come out of it fairly well. In the long run, it will hinge on how the government works in its new format, particularly the new defence minister and Sharon without a portfolio."

Sharon as back-seat driver?

"To be fair we have to give credit to everyone and hope that the cabinet will be able to work harmoniously with the new set-up. I'm convinced that if there are any cracks in the machinery the premier will be able to rectify them by activating his legal right to sack a minister. Perhaps the actual knowledge that such a possibility exists will act as a deterrent. It may prove rather difficult for a man like Sharon to adjust to his new station; it will be fascinating to watch him."

Isn't Sharon a living time-bomb in the Begin cabinet?

"Let's say that the premier has a deterrent weapon to counter such a threat. I share the opinion of my fellow MK, Prof. Yosef Rom, who said that Sharon would have been in a stronger position if he had resigned straight away, on the Tuesday of the report's publication. Then he would have enjoyed the moral force of a man who had resigned and could have fought on behalf of the army officers whom he claimed had been wronged."

MAGEN'S CONDUCT during the crisis?

The Herut organization chief said that during the debate inside Herut and elsewhere between the pro-and anti-Sharon forces, when Magen had threatened a new alignment of forces, he had treated the threat lightly. "The reason was that we have a leader who is very much in charge and this is the major difference between Herut and other parties. The *baal habayit* is not David Magen, nor even Ariel Sharon, but Menachem Begin. All these internal alignments have no influence whatsoever as long as they are opposed to the view and will of our party leader. Hence there can be no new alignment of forces."

Asked about the likelihood of a permanent Sharon faction in Herut, Reiser replied that "if that should happen, believe me, others won't sit idly by, and there will be counter-moves. That could lead to disintegration because each group would pull in another direction. As the chairman of the organizational department, I am endeavouring to the best of my ability to curb any such factional activity and keep our party work on an even keel within its institutionalized framework. I can say with authority that the moment that our rank and file sensed that there was a factional interest in all that ferment, they calmed down. There were expressions of sympathy, but they won't be repeated."

Herut remained a disciplined political movement, as indicated by the fact that Herut as such was not involved in the pro-Sharon rallies during the crisis, Reiser pointed out. Members of Herut were as usual solidly lined up behind their leader and his cabinet, even if it meant accepting not-so-popular decisions.

WHEN HE was asked to comment on Uri Dan's "forecasts" that Sharon would become prime minister, an angry blush suffused Reiser's bearded face. "Absolutely shocking," he said. "It's not to the credit of either the minister or his media counsellor."

The organizational chief was much more circumspect than his two fellow members of the party secretariat when talking about the post-crisis pecking order.

We'll have to wait and see how the government will perform with Moshe Arens at the Defence Ministry, how he will work out and what will happen now that he is about to be thrust to the top of the pyramid. I'd advise you to await developments before making any forecast about leadership combinations.

"You'll remember that a few months back I scoffed at the rumour about a supposed split between David Levy and Yoram Aridor, when the papers were referring to the Sharon-Shamir-Aridor axis. I told you at the time that if there were any disagreements they would be of a temporary nature and they would re-establish their long-standing concord, as has been the case. Anyone trying to understand Herut has to differentiate between permanent alliances and shifting, *ad hoc* partnerships."

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LESSONS IN DEMOCRACY

By CHARLES HOFFMAN

A DEMOCRACY is like a precision instrument. As long as it is functioning properly, no one worries about what holds it together and keeps it going. But once it malfunctions, the mechanism suddenly seems so complicated and delicate that one wonders how it ever worked in the first place.

The hand grenade thrown last week at the Peace Now demonstration did not shatter our democratic institutions, but it blew away enough of our complacency to force us to face some unpleasant facts. The foundations of Israeli democracy are not as sound as many of us had thought.

Paradoxically, the main foundations of a democracy are not at the bottom of the system, at the mass level, but at the top, at the level of the political elites who compete for the right to rule.

Research has shown that the attitudes of the masses towards democracy, or rather the procedures and institutions that comprise it, are often remote from the idealized notions taught in school or propounded from the rostrum of parliament. For example, research in the U.S., "the citadel of the free world," revealed a considerable gap between public adherence to the abstract ideal of free speech and the willingness to extend that right to groups viewed as enemies of the state — or even to groups not far beyond the political mainstream.

In American academic circles, the story is told of an enterprising researcher who wanted to see how people would react to a petition supporting fundamental principles enshrined in the Bill of Rights, without revealing their origin. He

was surprised to find a considerable number of people who rejected the petition as some "left-wing conspiracy."

Mass attitudes towards democratic rights such as freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and the right to a fair trial are certainly no better in Israel. They probably are worse in some respects. Many Americans may be intolerant of political opponents, but at least they uphold the value of tolerance as part of what it means to be an American. These values are part of their personal and collective identity, even if they are often violated in practice, or not extended equally to all groups.

IN THIS COUNTRY, it is far from obvious that adherence to democratic values, even as lip service, is an intrinsic part of what it means to be an Israeli. For many Jews, whether from Europe or the Middle East, an equation of democratic values with Zionism or Israeli identity might seem odd. Democratic values would in any case be of lesser importance to them than, say, a belief in the unity of the Jewish people or in its eternal right to Eretz Yisrael.

For most people, democracy may not be in conflict with Zionist values, as it is for Rabbi Meir Kahane. But it may simply be irrelevant. For them, *lehiyot am hofoshi be'artzenu* ("to be a free people in our Land"), means first and foremost freedom from foreign

domination, not the right to criticize the government and demonstrate against it. This is especially true if the critics and demonstrators are perceived or portrayed as threatening what being Israeli is "really" all about.

Democracy here or elsewhere would have minimal chances of survival if it depended only on a strong correspondence between popular attitudes and formal institutions.

The foundations of democracy are thus to be found among the agreements forged by political elites to uphold democratic institutions. Historically, competing elites have in many cases created or managed to maintain democracies because it was preferable to continual bloodletting between rival groups, because it provided all contenders for power with a chance at office, or because it served an overriding national interest. The role of genuine commitment to democratic values should not be ignored, but it can easily be over-rated.

Israeli democracy was cradled in the political arrangements of Zionism that aimed at expanding the movement's support among Jewry and at sharing the tasks and benefits of building the Land among parties in the movement. When the fragile consensus between the Labour Movement and Revisionism broke down in the face of con-

flicting interpretations of the national interest, dissidence and violence was the result.

BOTH LABOUR and Revisionism incorporated democratic values into their respective ideologies, the former from democratic socialism and the latter from liberalism. Yet for Revisionism and later Herut, democratic values were surpassed in importance by the classic right-wing value-complex of land, people and tradition. While historically the Mapai strand of Labour put democracy higher on its scale of values than did its main challengers on left and right (Mapam and Herut), its commitment to democratic practices was for many years tempered by its belief that the survival and prosperity of the state depended on continued Mapai rule.

Just one example of Mapai's "pragmatic" approach can be found in what may be called "Ma'abara democracy" of the early years of the state, when politically naive immigrants were bought, sold and in general manipulated to serve the ends of the ruling party machine. The impact of this experience on many Oriental immigrants has had a lasting effect, and has not been dulled even by a generation of government lessons given to their children in the schools.

The Likud eventually reaped the benefits of this convergence of ex-

perience and mass attitudes. Its stress on land, people and tradition, together with its exalting of a father figure, has echoed the sentiments of most Oriental and many European immigrants who seem to have passed them on to their children. Since the Six Day War, Labour too has been swept up in the resurgent popularity of the triad of land, people and tradition, and its own distinctive message has been blurred. Ironically, this occurred as Labour governments since 1967 strengthened Israeli democracy by reducing politicization and by enhancing the rule of law.

In sum, the democratic contract between Mapai and its main rivals in the past was based on toleration of political opposition as long as it did not threaten Mapai rule, which it indeed failed to do for many years. Herut made the most of its political opportunities, which included demagogic exploitation of Mapai's faults, but continued to seethe with resentment against the restrictive Mapai regime.

THUS WHEN the Likud — or rather Herut — came to power in 1977, it did not feel bound by a democratic compact between ruling party and opposition based on reciprocity and shared value commitments, since this never existed in the first place. Many Herut leaders thus felt few compunctions about

exploiting opportunities to cast the opposition, be it Labour or Peace Now, in the role of "traitors," "fifth-columnists," "American agents," "PLO-supporters" and so forth.

The alliance that now rules Israel is between Herut and the elements that share its devotion to the right-wing value triad and to its questionable corollary that anyone who threatens these values is a traitor. Most of the Herut leaders who make such unbridled attacks on the opposition do not really intend, I believe, to spark mob violence against it. They are simply doing their cynical best to discredit the opposition by the classic method of impugning its motives. But on the other hand they shouldn't be surprised when their followers draw what seems to them to be the obvious conclusion, that the only solution for traitors is to put them up against the wall. "First the leaders do it, and then the followers over-do it," an astute student of social movements once said.

THE CLUMSY attempt by Herut spokesmen to create the illusion of symmetry in this outrageous behaviour towards political opponents just won't wash. The Alignment may be guilty of some verbal excesses — after all it has yet to adjust to its unfamiliar role of opposition, responsible or otherwise.

But just who is the Alignment or Peace Now supposed to be inciting? Their supporters in the salons of North Tel Aviv? A militant class-

conscious proletariat straining at the bit, waiting for the signal to smash the capitalist regime? A radical mass of students looking for the first opportunity to set up barricades against the reactionary regime?

Clearly, the more hot-headed spokesmen on the left have no one to incite except each other. Herut, on the other hand, is playing with fire, with its cynical exploitation of the emotions of the more volatile and frustrated elements among its supporters.

Democracy rests mainly on a foundation of mutual tolerance between elites, who are expected to forego most of their opportunities for manipulating a mass public not heavily committed to democracy. By turning its base of electoral support into an instrument for bludgeoning the opposition into submission, the Likud has crossed the line between legitimate political combat and reckless attacks that can only strike at the fragile foundations of our democratic edifice.

For those who believe that Israel has no future, unless it is fully democratic, and who are outraged and sickened by the signs of deterioration in our political system, there is some hope. The judiciary, the press and that nebulous entity called "enlightened public opinion" are much more vigilant about protecting democratic freedoms than they were 30 years ago. Their performance in recent years, and especially since the Beirut massacre, indicates that they have come into their own as foundations of Israeli democracy.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.

Concepts of peace

By MOSHE SHARON

ACCORDING TO a large section of the international media and a great number of politicians, the only obstacles to peace in the Middle East are the Jewish settlements in Judea and Samaria. In other words, if the settlements disappeared or were "at least frozen, then peace between the Arabs and Israel would almost immediately prevail.

On the surface, this seems like an oversimplification of the subject, yet the amount of media space and time devoted to the settlements issue is so great, and the public figures involved so impressive, that one cannot escape the conclusion that only "the settlements separate us from the Messianic Age."

It is not difficult to understand the reasons for the dissemination of these ideas. Nor is it hard to detect their sources in the U.S. administration and, most of the time, in the European governments. Both the Americans and their European allies are anx-

ious to save Judea and Samaria, the formerly Jordanian-occupied administrative district called the West Bank, for the PLO. Once this terror organization gets busy in building its state, small as it may be, it will cease to indulge in blind terror.

In this way, the Saudi regime will be saved from the threat of revolution, while its precious oil installations will be protected. Israel's Jewish settlements in Judea and Samaria are thus an obstacle to an Arafat state rather than an obstacle to peace.

For a start, before the Six Day War there was not one Jewish settlement in the West Bank, yet nobody would argue that before then we had been closer to peace. On the contrary, the West Bank and Gaza Strip were the major sources of terror and bloodshed for Israel.

The Palestinian leaders at that time accepted without question Jordanian sovereignty and the Egyptian

military rules. None dared to propose the abolition of either Jordanian or Egyptian rule for the purpose of establishing a Palestinian state. Under the Jordanians, the West Bank was not Palestine but the West Bank of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Palestine was the territory still in Jewish hands; namely, the State of Israel.

TO THIS DAY, Palestine in the political dictionary of the Palestinian terrorist organizations is not only a geographical term but also a concept. In accordance with this concept, "Palestine" is any portion of territory which has yet to be freed from Jewish presence — political, social or cultural.

The PLO has never given up, not even for tactical reasons, its essential aim "to liquidate (al-kada ala) Israel politically, culturally, socially or otherwise." It has also never renounced its basic strategy that every "liberated part of Palestine" would become a base for the continued struggle and the intensification of its efforts to destroy the remaining Zionist presence.

Yet these clear aims are not regarded as "obstacles to peace." Rather, they are brushed aside by the West as rhetoric that is intended

for "internal consumption" and not to be taken seriously.

Israel, however, has a completely different attitude towards the contents and spirit of the Palestinian "liberation" ideology in particular and the Arab attitude to peace in general. Having experienced the Arab rhetoric "for internal consumption" which later turns into the beating of war drums, Israel takes the Arab objectives, as voiced by the Arab leaders, very seriously.

We are therefore obliged to examine whether the main obstacle to peace is not really the meaning which the Arabs attach to the word "peace" in general and peace with Israel in particular.

For there is a basic difference in the understanding of peace between the Judeo-Christian culture and the Arab-Islamic culture. This difference in the meaning of peace, which the Western mind is unable to accept, goes to the roots of the continued misunderstanding of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

IN THE Western mind, peace is the ultimate goal; it is a sublime ideal as well as a practical aim that will serve to end bloodshed and war. With this concept of peace, it is understandable that Westerners speak

so earnestly about the need to make sacrifices for peace, and why American spokesmen advise Israel to sacrifice for peace because "peace is the best security."

Had the Arab-Islamic world regarded peace as an ultimate, sublime goal, such advice would have been understandable. But the concept of peace in the Arab-Islamic mind has a very defined meaning. Peace is not an aim in itself, but rather a strategic maneuver, a tactical move, in the process of war. The Moslem jurists presented this concept very clearly when they declared that "the Islamic state is not permitted to exist when the Islamic state is unable, for one reason or another, to continue war, yet war should be resumed once Islam has regained its power."

In recent Arab thinking, peace — especially with regard to Israel — has been valued for the immediate and durable gains which the Arabs can achieve.

In Israel's case, the immediate gain, as presented by every modern Arab thinker or politician, is to shrink the Jewish state and contain it in the smallest possible territory. The next goal of peace is to try to push into this territory the largest number of Palestinian Arabs. This

has been done all along by not solving the Palestinian refugee problem in the Arab countries, by keeping them in the inhuman uncertainty of the homeless, and by permanently propagating among them the idea of "awda" — "return" — to their former homes in pre-1967 Israel.

No wonder, then, that the major subject in the Arab political "peace initiatives," whether they are initiated by Saudi Arabia or emerge from Fez, is the subject of Israel's withdrawal to the pre-1967 armistice lines. Together with this demand, there is always the repeated emphasis on the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, which is not, as the Westerners believe, the establishment of a mini-state between Hebron and Jenin, but the completion of the peace by "changing the Zionist character of Israel" and finally ridding the Arab homeland of the alien body of the Jewish state.

This attitude to peace in Arab-Palestinian thinking is not new, nor is it unknown to students of modern Middle East history and politics in the West, yet policy-makers prefer to put pressure on Israel to succumb to the Arab demands, presenting the Arab "peace" in Western Christian terms. This is a self-delusion on the part of the Western leaders and a mortal danger to Israel.

THE REAL obstacle to peace, therefore, is the Arab attitude to peace. It is, in fact, the continuation of the war against Israel in a more subtle way, because in all the rhetoric about peace, none of the

Arab-Moslem speakers has ever mentioned the "legitimate right" of the Jewish people.

This is no accident. The Arabs do not regard the Jews as a people and, therefore, do not regard them as possessing any rights at all. The discussions today in the international arena revolve around the question of the "right of Israel to exist." No one from among all the Western peace-loving moralists has ever raised his voice against the immorality of presenting Israel's case in such a way; even after five wars and much bloodshed.

While denying Israel and the Jewish people any historical rights to any part of the Holy Land, the Arabs demand it wholly for themselves by bending history. In modern books on the history of the ancient Middle East, everyone who had ever inhabited it was Arab. Thus the Canaanites, the Amorites, the Jebusites, the Amalekites and every other people mentioned in the Bible as living in Syria and the Holy Land are described as pure Arabs.

This is not a mere falsification of history in order to satisfy nationalistic pride, but a basis for the total denial of Israel on a so-called scientific basis.

Thus the rights — all the rights — belong to the Arabs alone. This, then, is the real obstacle to peace. And while such notions persist, it is worthless talking about the other issues, important as they may seem.

Professor Sharon teaches Islamic history at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Across the red line

By YEKUTIEL X. FEDERMANN

step on a long and bloody road which no democratic society can afford to tread, the road to fratricide.

Some may have been tempted to dismiss that attack with a shrug, to sigh "it's only Arabs." But Emil Grunzweig's death showed clearly that violence does not differentiate between nationalities and does not recognize borders or green lines. We should have realized how short the distance between verbal and physical violence really is.

Now we know. Now we also know that this is no longer an issue on which political parties should capitalize. Now we know that this terrible problem strikes at the root of our national existence. Those of us who lived through the Fascist period in Europe during the Thirties and Forties remember only too well that threats and scorn hurled at a fellow human being are no less a threat to

their victim and to society as a whole than angry blows or bombs.

That this should happen in a small country surrounded by bloodthirsty foes is bad enough. That this should happen in Israel, to the people who gave the world the Bible, is shattering and unacceptable.

Ethnic violence of the kind we have seen on TV and in the streets goes beyond politics. It is the negation of the ethics on which the Jewish people have been nurtured for 2,000 years.

It is incumbent on all of us, from the prime minister to the ordinary man in the street, to make a tremendous effort to transcend all divisions, whether political, ethnic or class, for the sake of the only country we have.

Our leaders must not try to make political capital out of the political strife in the streets and the ethnic intolerance which threatens to

engulf the whole country. Playing on base emotions may save a political party or bring it to power over its opponents, but such victories are short lived. When the day of reckoning comes, as it must, all of us will pay the price.

Because he is the prime minister, and because he exercises such great influence over the masses, Menachem Begin must take the lead in a movement for national unity; not political uniformity but ethical unity. His lead must be followed by members of all parties and strata, whatever they may think of Begin's Likud.

We must drive home the fact that we are in a state of emergency. One way to do this would be to create a programme of national education in the universities, the high schools and the elementary schools, at levels appropriate to their differing standards, explaining the meaning of citizens' rights, the basic rights of

the individual in a free and democratic society.

Israel has proved many times that there is nothing we cannot do if we really want to. Now the time has come for all of us to save our country from self-destruction.

I hope that when I visit our factory again, the word "Ashkenazi" with the twist of hatred in its pronunciation, will have disappeared from our workers' dictionary, as the derogatory "Frank" of the Fifties and Sixties has already been removed from that of the old timers. Today, Frank in Israel is associated with the singer Singers. Tomorrow, God willing, Ashkenazi will bring to mind only the football player of that name. I hope that when we fight the political battles which are a legitimate and indispensable component of democracy, we will not fight with bombs, ethnic slurs or scorn.

One grenade in the streets was enough. There must be no more grenades in our arguments, and far fewer decibels in our debates. We must be conscious of the danger that Israeli society is facing.

The writer is a Haifa-based industrialist.

Brutal conversations

By EUGENE WEINER

These are rather demanding standards. Judging by them, I would imagine that there are not a few people in Israeli society who have never had a conversation.

THE TIME may have come for us to attempt to identify the violent strategies of talk that destroy the possibilities for cooperation and mutual respect.

The First Rule of brutal conversation is never try to find points of agreement with a person with whom you are talking, and to use these to proceed further in order to explore problems, questions and issues. Rather always seek out the points of disagreement, wherever evident. If

points of disagreement do not appear, then either create them yourself or pretend that they exist, whether they do or not. For to talk is perforce to argue, or to give the appearance of arguing. Every other kind of talking is a waste of time.

Rule Two: Never listen when someone is talking to you. The point of all talking is to get the other person to listen to you. In fact, a good conversation is one in which you manage to do all the talking.

Rule Three: Never ask a question for information or clarification. Ask questions only when you think the other person is contradicting himself, or you know that he does

not know the answer. Never ask without knowing the answer.

Rule Four: Whenever someone is talking about a subject with which you are unfamiliar, change the subject. Otherwise, you can only show your weakness and ignorance. Be curt and aggressive; change the subject to one where you are expert.

Rule Five: If someone says something that you happen to agree with, never let him know it. It only makes him feel better than you.

Rule Six: Always speak in a decisive didactic tone.

Rule Seven: Finish what you have to say, no matter whether it is coherent, important or interesting

to anyone aside from yourself. When the other person is talking, do everything possible to get him to finish as quickly as possible. Interrupt. Make dismissing sounds; to show your disparagement.

Rule Eight: Do everything to convince the other person that what he is saying is wrong, silly or so patently obvious that it is unworthy.

Rule Nine: Never give away information gratuitously. Use information only for the purpose of correcting the other person's errors. Never assume that a person has any knowledge of any subject unless you yourself have personally told him.

THESE RULES for brutal conversation constitute nothing more than the most rudimentary of directives. Many refinements could be made to cultivate the black art. I leave this task to posterity. Hopefully to oblivion.

The writer is a member of the department of sociology at Haifa University.

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Washington has added a new dimension to the political outlook of Moshe Arens, reports Wolf Blitzer

The making of a minister



Allen Auerbach

MOSHE ARENS clearly made a reputation for himself in the U.S. during his one year as Israel's ambassador in Washington. He may have been chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee and a well-known figure in Israel before his arrival in the U.S. capital, but it is fair to say that he was virtually unknown in America, even within the Jewish community.

Now, of course, all that has changed. Arens, the 57-year-old American-educated aeronautical engineer who helped pioneer Israel's aircraft industry, and who is now defence minister-designate, has become a very well known personality in the U.S. Whether it was ABC's *Nightline*, NBC's *Meet the Press*, CBS's *Face the Nation*, Public Broadcasting's *McNeil-Lehrer Report*, or Cable's *Newsweek Saturday*, he was often seen on national television news shows defending Israel's case.

He was also a regular on the lecture circuit, and as a result, he is returning to Jerusalem with a sizeable following of American admirers — among them, several senior Reagan Administration officials who have been impressed with his ability to keep cool under fire.

Arens was always on good terms with former secretary of state Alexander Haig, who was recognized as a pro-Israel advocate in the administration. George Shultz may not share Haig's overall world view as far as Israel is concerned but that did not prevent the new secretary of state from establishing a very good personal rapport with Arens.

Thus, it was not altogether surprising that Shultz and his wife invited Arens and his wife to the Kennedy Center for the performing arts a few weeks ago — even though U.S.-Israeli relations were very strained at that moment.

"We had a very enjoyable evening," Arens recalled later.

STATE DEPARTMENT officials pointed out that it was exceedingly rare for the secretary to invite a Washington ambassador and his wife to such a private, social occasion.

White House officials said National Security Adviser William Clark — not exactly an ardent pro-Israel supporter in the administration — was also deeply impressed with Arens, despite their disagreements on important issues.

Clark, it got supposed to meet with Arens, even under Reagan administration ground rules. Nevertheless, he wanted to meet Arens, so Senator Paul Laxalt, the

chairman of the Republican National Committee and a close friend of Ronald Reagan, set up a meeting for Arens and Clark in his own Capitol Hill office.

Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth Dam and Under-Secretary for Political Affairs Lawrence Eagleburger also came to work closely with Arens on a wide range of Israeli-related issues. Like so many other Americans, they appreciated Arens's intelligence and candor. They knew he had had a credible voice in the inner circles of the Israeli cabinet — as, of course, has now been underlined by Prime Minister Menachem Begin's decision to tap Arens for the defence post.

In short, Arens was personally effective in Washington. That might not be so apparent by looking at the current state of American-Israeli relations. There are serious, substantive differences between the two countries, involving the Lebanese negotiations as well as the search for a comprehensive peace settlement.

Yet, despite the differences, there are high hopes in Washington that the Arens appointment will ease tensions. **ARENS LEARNED** much during his stay in Washington. He came to understand the U.S.

decision-making process. He developed a good grasp of the real thinking and mood in America. That, no doubt, will add an important, new dimension to cabinet deliberations in Jerusalem.

Since arriving in Washington, there have been important changes in his political style — changes which call into question his earlier, well-earned reputation as one of Israel's leading hawks.

He had voted against the Camp David agreements. He had also turned down Begin's offer to become defence minister after Ezer Weizman's resignation because he did not want to be in charge of implementing the Sinai pullback.

Thus, Ariel Sharon, who voted for Camp David and who was later tapped by a reluctant Begin to become defence minister (after a gap of nearly one year in which Begin himself filled the office) can partially thank Arens for having received that job. Only several months later did Begin manage to persuade Arens to succeed Ephraim Evron as ambassador in Washington.

Arens has not only learned much about the conduct of American foreign policy. He has also gained a fresh perspective on the U.S. Jewish community. He came to appreciate Jewish political power, especially in

helping to use Congress as a counterweight to the administration.

Although a life-long Herutnik — he was active in the U.S. before making aliya — Arens this past year has also come to appreciate the fact that other pro-Israel political movements can generate support for Israel.

This was underlined to him by the editorial backing Israel often received on the pages of *The New Republic* magazine, whose editor, Martin Peretz, comes from a Labour-Zionist background. Arens even agreed to an interview by Leonard Fein, editor of *Moment* magazine and another Labour-Zionist. The outgoing ambassador is no ideological fanatic.

ARENS MUST have often reflected on how things might have been if he had accepted Begin's initial proposal that he — rather than Sharon — become defence minister. Moreover, he must have often suspected that Sharon was behind some press leaks which proved damaging to him as ambassador in the past year.

But with Arens now receiving a second chance, there are other key questions to be answered about the impact of his year in Washington.

What everyone is now interested in knowing is whether Arens's views on important substantive issues facing Israel have changed. And if they have, what impact will they have on the Defence Ministry.

When Arens arrived in Washington, there was much talk about his hard-line, hawkish stance. U.S. officials initially were afraid of him. When Ted Koppel, the popular anchorman on ABC's *Nightline* television news programme, interviewed Arens last March, he introduced the ambassador as "a man who's been described as more hardline than Menachem Begin."

So how does one explain the flap that developed in November when it was reported in Israel that super hawk Arens had sent a cable to Jerusalem recommending that Israel impose a three-month settlement freeze in Judea and Samaria?

It was, simply put, a bombshell. Arens, since then, has refused to comment on the news reports, which authoritative sources have confirmed.

Whatever the specifics of the cable, the fact remains that Arens quickly came under sharp criticism in Israel from some of those very same politicians who were once his closest political and ideological friends. **THAT ARENS** has moderated the

tone — if not the substance — of his views since arriving in Washington cannot be denied. But that should not have come as any great surprise. Like all previous Israeli envoys serving in the U.S. capital, Arens has been influenced by what he has seen and heard during the course of his extensive travels around the country. There are limits within which any Israeli ambassador must operate if he is to be at all effective in the U.S.

What Arens and his predecessors have heard from senior officials at the State Department has, of course, had an important effect on their views. But these largely predictable official statements have by no means been as critical in shaping and moderating earlier positions than those comments privately expressed by Israel's best friends in Washington.

Thus, Arens has been deeply impressed by the statements he has heard from Israel's most sincere and loyal supporters in the U.S. Congress and the Jewish community.

He saw them all the time. He knows that what they have to say comes from the heart and the mind. He knows they represent the foundation of overall American support for Israel. Without their support, Israel would be in very big trouble.

They have a proven track record. When they talk, therefore, Israeli ambassadors listen.

Those with the most credibility include such senators as Democrat Henry Jackson of Washington state and Republican Rudy Boschwitz of Minnesota. For tactical reasons, they, too, have urged Israel to adopt a temporary settlement freeze.

They also proposed that Israel take a less hostile stance towards Reagan's Middle East peace initiative — as did many other well-regarded Jewish leaders, including Tom Dine, executive director of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee.

TO GET a sense of the real mood of the U.S., Arens used to call in several other long-time Washington hands, such as lawyers Leonard Garment or Max Kampelman or columnists George Will or William Safire. He came to respect their views and, clearly, they affected his thinking on tactics.

The ambassador has also faced some other personal problems in grappling with his own views. His oldest son, a graduate student in California, has emerged as an outspoken critic of Israel. Not only has he spoken out against the Likud government, he has also actually aligned himself with radical organizations which support the PLO. Arens's brother, a lawyer in Connecticut who never made aliya, recently signed a petition calling on the U.S. to cut foreign aid to Israel because of the settlements. Understandably, those developments have deeply disturbed Arens.

No one should assume that Arens has become a veritable dove. He has not. Both he and Begin still have the same overall objective in mind — namely that Israel should forever control Judea, Samaria and Gaza. Yet at the same time, they have developed different tactics to achieve that goal. Arens, in Washington, became more sensitive to U.S. public opinion.

He is smart, savvy and ambitious, but he does not seem to have a "burning" drive to climb the political ladder. Still, with his return to Israel, Arens will have to be more sensitive to Israeli public opinion.

Marvin Kalb, the *Nat'l* diplomatic correspondent, said the other day that Arens could emerge one day as a successor to Begin. William Safire, the columnist for *The New York Times* has been pushing that line for several months.

Many other Americans, including administration policy-makers, now believe that possibility is very realistic, and they will deal with him accordingly.

'Monastery Route' for Nazis

By CHARLES ALLEN / New York

KLAS BARBIE, the Gestapo "Butcher of Lyons" recently extradited from Bolivia to France, was aided in his escape from Europe in late 1949 or early 1950 by the Vatican, the U.S. Army's Counter-Intelligence Corps (CIC) and the International Red Cross.

This conclusion is arrived at by piecing together various documents, including those of the State Department, that deal with Barbie's movements since he was first used by the CIC in 1947 until his extradition from Bolivia 36 years later.

Barbie took the so-called "Monastery Route," an underground channel used by some of wanted Nazi war criminals who escaped from Europe. This was known to the U.S. Embassy in Rome, which did nothing to stem the flow of war criminals from Europe, most of whom originated in the American-occupied zone of Germany.

The northern starting point of the "Monastery Route" was in Bavaria

and on the Austrian frontier. It then crossed to the Italian Alps, to waystations leading to exits from the sorts of Genoa and Naples.

According to information I have received, Barbie, disguised as a monk, was passed from monastery to monastery along the route. He went to Milan and then to Genoa. From there he went to Franco's Spain and then to Portugal, which was ruled by fascist Premier Salazar. From there, he went by ship to South America, going first either to Peru or to Argentina.

CORROBORATION of these findings came dramatically a week ago from Dr. Erhard Dabringhaus, a 65-year-old faculty member of Wayne State University in Detroit. Mich. Dabringhaus served as Bar-

bie's case officer in the CIC in Germany in 1948. He told NBC-TV news and the *Detroit Free Press* that Barbie had been secretly employed as an informant by the CIC in 1948 at an astounding salary.

Barbie provided information about other fugitive Nazis then in Europe, Dabringhaus said, confirming in detail what the Paris-based Nazi-hunters, Beate and Serge Klarsfeld, had revealed as long ago as 1972 about Barbie's service to the U.S. intelligence agencies.

The Klarsfelds also cited a 1969 "secret" West German government report that said: "The Barbie family arrived in Bolivia in May 1951... (un)named... with foreign (Vatican) passports."

On Wednesday, February 9, Italy's largest daily newspaper, *Paese Sera*, interviewed Dabringhaus and asked whether Barbie had escaped by the Vatican's "Monastery Route."

"That's right," said Dabringhaus. "How did you know that? He was passed along (by the American CIC) to the 'Monastery Route,' probably disguised as a priest, went down along the Austrian and Italian Alps, down to Genoa and from there through Franco's Spain and on to

safety in Peru."

FURTHER confirmation of the role of the Vatican in the escape of Barbie — as well as scores if not hundreds of other SS murderers — came in hitherto top-secret State Department documents which I have acquired, largely as a result of "freedom-of-information requests" over the past five years.

It is a 35-page internal report, classified "Top Secret" and dated May 15, 1947. Copies are addressed to the head of the "American Legation in Vienna" and to the then secretary of state, five-star General George Catlett Marshall.

The title of the report is "Illegal Emigration Movements In and Through Italy." Its author was Vincent La Vista, an international lawyer serving as military attaché at the U.S. Embassy in Rome and already a skilled intelligence/diplomatic State Department officer.

The "La Vista Report," as it became known in American intelligence circles, broke down into precise detail more than 22 permutations of SS, Nazi Party, ethnic collaborators who were knowingly guided safely through the Vatican's "Monastery Route."

The report also detailed the names and political backgrounds of the high-ranking members of the Roman Catholic hierarchy who masterminded the war criminals' escape route along which Barbie successfully fled.

ONE OF THE leading personalities he must have met before leaving Italy was the notorious pro-Fascist cleric, Msgr. Alois Hudal, bishop of Elia, president of the Collegio Teutonico di Santa Maria Dell' anima in Vatican City.

Hudal had personally welcomed many SS escapees. In 1947, he defied public criticism of a high cleric's interceding on behalf of wanted Nazi mass murderers.

"I am neither police nor carabinieri," he said. "My Christian duty is to save whoever can be saved."

Hudal's background, address and telephone numbers — along with the fact of his "directing" the escapees from the Munich/Augsburg/Austrian region — are carefully recorded in the La Vista report.

The report states: "The Vatican, of course, is the largest single organization involved in the illegal

movement...the Vatican's justification for this illegal traffic is simply the propagation of the faith."

It says that the Vatican desires "to infiltrate not only European countries but Latin American countries as well...with people of all political beliefs as long as they are anti-Communist and pro-Catholic Church."

Referring to an earlier report dated December 16, 1946, the La Vista report goes on to state that "the Vatican at various times and under certain conditions utilized the International Red Cross" in order to obtain "Red Cross documents" which served Nazi escapees as passports.

The La Vista report speaks of "the Free Committee of Austria," which it describes as "a staunchly

anti-Communist (group) operating under the protection of the Vatican" and say that it "knowingly" used Red Cross passports "sometimes with and sometimes without" the international Red Cross's knowledge.

Barbie, charged with 4,000 murders and 8,000 deportations of French Jews, used an International Red Cross document to effectuate his escape from Europe to Latin America, according to investigators.

The La Vista report makes reference to an unnamed source in the "welfare units" of the Vatican's "Refugee Bureau," who is quoted as having admitted to the State Department: "There is a definite fear of increasing Communist activities in South America and for this reason persons possessing a Fascist background are favourably considered (for illegal emigration) rather than (those)...with tainted Communist ideas."

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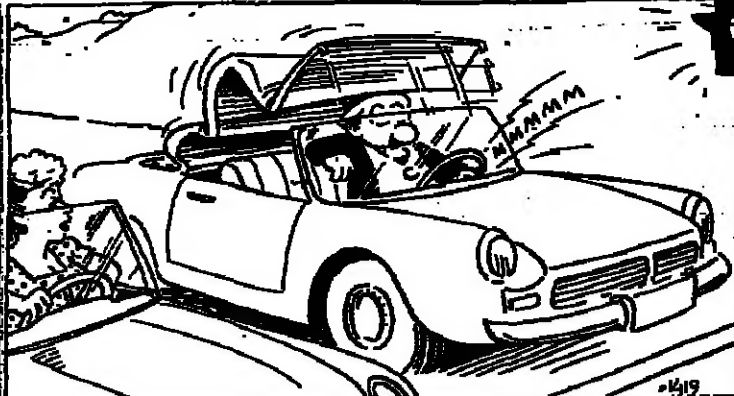
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9.00 a.m. Welcoming Remarks: Robert Rockaway, President, IAAS

Morning Session: Yehoshua Arieli, Chairman

LAWRENCE W. LEVINE: "Slavery and Culture in the United States"

MECHAL SOBEL: "The World the Slaves and the Masters Made Together"

1.30 p.m. Afternoon Session: Aryeh Goren, Chairman

HERBERT S. KLEIN: "Recent Research on the Atlantic Slave Trade"

JACOB METZER: "Roll Jordan Roll: Now That the Dust Has Settled"

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JERUSALEM is like paradise, compared with the situation in the hospitals here.

That statement — often accompanied by a sigh — has become a refrain in conversations with doctors from Haifa, Tel Aviv and the other areas currently suffering from a severe shortage of hospital beds and staff, coupled with a flood of patients.

In health care, as in other things, it's a matter of relative. While overcrowding in Jerusalem hospitals has not yet reached the acute level reported in places like Tel Aviv, Ichilov and Haifa's Rambam, the capital's hospitals are definitely on the critical list.

"All Jerusalem hospitals are under great pressure now," Prof. Shmuel Penchas, director of the Hadassah Medical Organization, said earlier this week. "Hadassah is going through a difficult period, but we have not yet reached the breaking point."

He was quick to note, however, that certain departments have been working with an occupancy rate of up to 150 per cent for the past few months, and the emergency rooms at both the Mt. Scopus and Ein Karem hospitals are virtually swamped on their duty days.

The statistics bear this out. Ein Karem's 24-bed emergency room treats an average of 120 patients on a non-duty day and 180 when it is the duty hospital for internal medicine, surgery and orthopedics. Over 45,000 patients passed through the emergency room at Ein Karem in 1981 (the last year for which figures are available).

Upstairs, in the wards, this was the situation on Monday, February 14. The gynecology department — built to hold 35 beds — had 48 patients (137 per cent occupancy rate); pediatrics had 45 patients in its 38-bed area (118 per cent); pediatric surgery squeezed 40 children into its 32-bed space (125 per cent); and the circulatory disease department had 12 instead of eight beds (150 per cent).

On paper, it looks bad. But seeing it with one's own eyes, while threading through corridors crammed with beds, nightstands and visitors, is even worse. Doctors and nurses can hardly make their way through this obstacle course; wheeling through a stretcher or large pieces of equipment requires the reflexes of a race-car driver.

All of the hospital's original four-bedded rooms have long since gone over to five beds on a nearly permanent basis. On Monday, I counted five beds in the corridors of the gynecology department and seven in the surgery ward's hallway.

Patients in the hallways complained of a total lack of privacy and constant noise.

"The traffic here is unbelievable," said one surgery patient lying near the nurses' station. "It's like trying to sleep in the Tel Aviv central bus terminal."

One mother of a girl recovering from adenoid surgery in the corridor condemned the "appalling physical conditions," but went on to compliment the staff "for doing the

best they can in such a situation."

The staff — whose numbers have not kept pace with the addition of extra beds — are bearing the brunt of this burden. "It's the nurses who are at the breaking point," Penchas said with feeling. Nurses are required to care for more patients in less space, and to deal with an increasingly complex array of sophisticated procedures that barely existed 10 years ago.

"The Health Ministry, which sets the number of nursing positions allotted to each hospital, is working under a primitive and totally outdated system," he added. Hematology, for instance, is now practically an intensive-care unit; procedures such as bone-marrow transplants, unknown a decade ago, could now be done on a routine basis. "But the woefully inadequate number of nurses, apportioned by the ministry under a 1974 plan, makes this impossible."

"In geriatrics, two nurses are expected to handle 30 patients on the night shift. Many of these elderly people suffer from degenerative diseases that impair their mental and physical functioning and simply cannot take care of themselves. So it's no wonder that a harried nurse rushes by the bedside drops off a tray of food and comes back hours later to find the food untouched."

Penchas went on. "The same holds true in oncology, where we are treating many cancers once considered hopeless. But the treatment is sometimes debilitating and the number of totally incapacitated patients has risen dramatically. The nurses simply can't cope."

ON THE OTHER side of town, at the more modern Hadassah-Mt. Scopus hospital, the floors are shinier, the colours brighter and the overcrowding less apparent. But the maternity ward, built to handle 150 deliveries a month, has been averaging 280 a month throughout the winter, according to Penchas.

As of this past Monday, these were the most crowded wards at Mt. Scopus: maternity, 25 mothers in space intended for 20 (125 per cent occupancy rate); surgery, 60 patients pushed into a space for 52 (115 per cent); gynecology, 23 patients crammed into a space for 18 (128 per cent); and the rehabilitation unit, where there were four extra patients in a 28-bed area (114 per cent).

Fitted with 12 beds for adults and four for children, the Mt. Scopus emergency room has an average daily flow of 100 patients on a non-duty day, and 160 when the hospital is on the duty roster. In 1981, the emergency room handled 34,162 patients.

The majority of people arrive at the emergency room on their own, without letters of referral from their physicians. The number seems to peak in the evening hours after the closure of Kupat Holim clinics, according to the emergency room staff.

"I have a feeling they all wait until just after 7 p.m. simply so they can come here instead," one nurse said.



Jerusalem: Paradise lost

Overcrowded, understaffed, overworked — Jerusalem's hospitals are not the shining example they are thought to be. Post Health Reporter Margery Greenfeld finds that the Capital's hospitals are definitely on the critical list.

Penchas confirmed this: "Many patients regard the emergency room as a centre for primary health care. One reason is that doctors no longer make house calls at night. The 'black-bag' period of medicine is over. Doctors want the use of sophisticated diagnostic devices in addition to their tongue-depressors."

"And the patients themselves have caught on to the dynamics of modern medicine — they prefer to avoid the often tedious runaround from test to test and come straight to the emergency room. It's like 'one-stop shopping' — all the facilities and specialists are available in one place at one time."

Penchas suggested both "carrot" and "stick" remedies for the over-use of emergency rooms.

"Either we can improve primary health care delivery by extending clinic hours and setting up group practices that would provide comprehensive services, or we can make coming to emergency room 'expensive,' either financially or through increasing the unpleasantness involved. If people have to wait a long time and get treated like unwanted baggage, they won't rush to emergency rooms so fast."

The Hadassah director clearly preferred the first solution, and urged the implementation of a more unified health-care delivery system which would eliminate unnecessary duplication of services and beef up areas that are deficient.

"The current shortage is not something that started yesterday, nor is it merely a seasonal phenomenon, as some like to say. There are certain fundamental problems that must be addressed," Penchas emphasized.

"One of these problems is the aging of Israeli society (from 1948 through 1977, the life expectancy for males rose by six years, and for females, by eight years). But society has made little provision for caring for its aged, and the brunt of the burden falls on the medical system."

"This hits Jerusalem hospitals especially hard because the capital has a higher percentage of elderly people than other places in the country. Our internal medicine department could almost be considered a geriatrics ward, and since most of the older patients have longer hospital stays, a bottle-neck is created," Penchas noted.

Another major problem is the decrease in capital expenditure on health care since 1976. Spending on health has fallen to a "very low" 7 per cent of the gross national product (1981-82), whereas in most

western nations, health spending accounts for at least 10 per cent of the GNP, he added.

To compound the problem, "We started with a rotten base and improvements were made too little and too late," Penchas was referring to the collection of huts left over from the British Mandate that form the backbone of such hospitals as Assaf Harofe and Sheba at Tel Hashomer.

And finally, Penchas pointed out, we must consider our changing expectations. "We can now treat conditions that were once thought to be incurable. And every citizen regards medical care as a natural resource, like air or water."

THE WIDE and airy corridors at Sha'are Zedek are uncluttered by beds. If anything, the visitor is struck by the vast empty spaces — many of them still unfinished — and by the spaciousness of the rooms, none of which contains more than three beds.

Sha'are Zedek was planned as a 500-bed hospital when construction on the new facility near Mt. Herzl began in 1972. But by the time the hospital opened in 1979, the number of approved beds had been reduced to 295. This figure does not include the 53 beds in the country's only hospital chronic-care ward, nor the cribs for newborns and preemies.

"We certainly don't have a space problem," Prof. Arnold Rosen, the hospital's director, told *The Jerusalem Post* earlier this week. "Our problem is an acute personnel

Hospitals in crisis

shortage — especially in nursing. We could open more beds, but then who would take care of the extra patients?"

The hospital runs at an average occupancy rate of 110 to 115 per cent throughout the year. "We have simply added to the official number of beds without a corresponding increase in staff," said Rosen.

A look at the figures for Tuesday, February 15, shows an overall occupancy rate of 105 per cent, with 309 patients accommodated in Sha'are Zedek's 295 beds.

The most crowded departments included internal medicine, with 39 patients in a space for 33 (120 per cent occupancy rate); neurology, which ran almost double its official capacity of eight beds with 15

patients (182 per cent); surgery A, with 33 patients occupying a 25-bed space (132 per cent); and orthopedics, plastic surgery and urology, which each had 19 patients in 15 places (127 per cent).

The situation was worse at the beginning of the month, and reached a peak on February 7 when the hospital was packed with 349 patients. On that day, the occupancy rate in neurology was 175 per cent; in orthopedics and plastic surgery, 140 per cent; and in maternity, 152 per cent.

Overcrowding fluctuates from department to department, but chronic problems have been plaguing certain fields such as internal medicine, acute geriatrics and maternity, Rosen said.

The emergency room is also under tremendous pressure — especially on duty days when 160 to 180 patients pass through the 15-bed facility, he said. The emergency room handles an average of 2,400 patients a month, or 28,500 annually.

A major problem that cropped up with increasing frequency this winter was the lack of empty beds in the various departments available to receive patients on duty days.

"We would often approach the start of our 24-hour duty with only two or three empty beds in the entire hospital; some days there were none at all to handle the 12 to 15 patients admitted during the average duty day."

To ease the pressure, the hospital recently opened a 12-bed "holding section" just behind the emergency room where patients are kept until space in the appropriate ward opens up. "We thought patients would stay in 'holding' for a matter of hours, but now they are often there for up to two days."

Some of the overflow patients in particularly crowded departments can be accommodated in less crowded wards. The maternity ward, for example, which shows "gross swings" in its occupancy, sometimes sends new mothers to gynecology. But this is a far from ideal solution: A woman who has just undergone a hysterectomy may be less than overjoyed to see a nursing mother in the next bed.

So far, the hospital has not been forced to add a fourth bed to its three-bedded rooms, although a second bed has been placed in most of the single rooms. "We're going to do our best to avoid putting any beds in the hallways," Rosen said. "Once you start with that, it's very hard to stop."

The hospital director repeatedly stressed the nursing shortage. In the

acute geriatrics ward, where there are 15 employment slots for nurses to cover all three shifts, five vacancies have been on maternity or sick leave for extended periods. No new nurses can be hired, "if indeed any could be found." The remaining eight nurses — with the help of students and volunteers — must care for the 30 partially disabled or totally incapacitated elderly patients during the three shifts.

This tremendous burden creates "a vicious cycle," said Rosen. "When one nurse drops off the roster, the work load gets heavier, and then another nurse leaves. The work gets even harder and inevitably, more will drop out."

ROSEN, like Hadassah's Penchas, blames part of the hospital problem on inadequate alternative facilities for the elderly. "Sha'are Zedek used to run a home-care programme for the elderly, with regular visits by doctors, nurses and social workers. But the programme folded in 1980 after the Health Ministry cut off its funds. Rather than closing such programmes, everything possible should be done to expand them."

While Rosen says that some of this winter's marked rise in patient loads can be attributed to the cold weather, he emphatically disagreed with Health Minister Eliezer Shoshit's statement last week that there is "no crisis in the hospitals."

"There definitely is a serious problem," he says, "and ignoring it won't make it go away."

BEHIND THE rather grim-looking walls of Bikur Holim, a quiet revolution is taking place. The hospital's austere and forbidding exterior — which hasn't changed much since it opened in 1923 — conjures up visions of iron bedsteads, iron-grey walls and iron-faced nurses in stiff white aprons.

But the interior is gradually being transformed into an efficient and visually pleasing environment, utilizing the latest planning techniques within the limits imposed by the building's status as a protected landmark.

Departments that were once a warren of tiny rooms connected by high-ceilinged, narrow corridors have undergone a complete facelift. Their bright colours, wide hallways and well-planned work stations present a stark contrast to those departments which have stood more or less untouched for almost 50 years.

The work is proceeding slowly from floor to floor, with sections of departments closed off for renovation while the rest of the departments carry on with their work. This, plus the fact that Rehov Straus literally slices the hospital in half, add to the difficulties of the overburdened staff and facilities.

"There is no doubt about it," said Bikur Holim director, Prof. Shlomo Stern. "This winter has brought a 10 to 15 per cent jump in emergency room patients and a corresponding rise in hospitalizations. While hospitals in Jerusalem have always run at close to 100 per cent occupancy, Bikur Holim has been operating at 110 per cent capacity all winter."

"What makes this even more serious is the fact that most of the increase has been in acute illnesses, not in 'easy cases.' This places an even greater strain on an already pressured system."

In the past month, the 38-bed internal medicine department has been handling an average of 43 patients (113 per cent occupancy), while the cardiac care unit has been working with 20 patients in its 15-bed ward (133 per cent).

The maternity ward is crammed to overflowing, Stern said. While no figures were available, a walk through the ward's corridor, jammed with beds and equipment, confirmed this.

Jerusalem has always had more hospitalizations per capita than any other area in Israel, mainly because of the higher proportion of elderly persons in its population, according to Stern. This meant that the capital was allotted more hospital beds, creating the "illusion that the city was overflowing with beds."

"This is certainly not the case.

We have more beds per capita than anywhere else in the country," he said.

Most Western nations plan hospitals to run at 80 to 90 per cent capacity, Stern noted. "In hospitals that are always running more than 100 per cent, the don't even have time to get before the next patient climbs in."

(On this same point, Dr. Penchas of Hadassah said that Jerusalem currently has three-and-a-half hospital beds per 1,000 residents. "Some developed nations provide eight beds for every 1,000 citizens. While I'm not recommending we aim for that figure, our ratio certainly nothing to write home about.")

The recent huge jump in hospitalizations should not be caught anyone by surprise, Stern said. He told the Knesset Labor and Social Affairs committee last week that the authorities had "greatly underestimated the effects of demographic changes on hospitals."

The change is qualitative as well as quantitative, transcending well-worn adage that "society is aging." It's more than a matter of how many old people there are; how old they are. "The 60th birthday seems to be sort of a watershed with the number of hospitalizations required zooming upward afterwards," said Stern.

"The great progress in medicine that enables us to save people who once would have died and prolong their lives is a blessing," said Stern. "But this, of necessity, also creates the number of people needing lengthy or repeated hospitalizations."

Survivors of heart attacks, for instance, usually need two or three subsequent hospitalizations after living through the initial attack. "And the chances are that an elderly person who has been saved through antibiotic treatment and stay in the respiratory intensive care unit will come back to us when gets sick again."

"The aging of the population plus our greatly improved means of keeping people alive equals more and longer hospitalizations," Stern said. "The pressure can be relieved only if this is kept in mind and concomitant increase in hospital beds follows."

Bikur Holim itself is not seeking to expand because, just would mean leaving its location in the centre of Jerusalem "to sit on a hilltop somewhere on the periphery."

Although the prevailing trend in urban planning is to site hospitals on the outskirts of a city, Stern stresses that Bikur Holim does not want to move.

"We play an important part in the life of the city. We're right in the middle of the most highly concentrated population and we want to continue to serve that population."

Nor should it be forgotten that most of the terrorist violence from which Jerusalem has suffered over the years has taken place in the centre of town. "Jerusalem cannot allow itself to be without a centrally-located hospital. If God forbid, there were another incident we are right here to take care of people."

TAKING CARE of people's health is what hospitals are for. Jerusalem is blessed with four major hospitals, staffed by dedicated and talented personnel who are doing the best possible job under steadily worsening conditions. But the downhill slide must be arrested immediately, before the city's hospitals move off the critical list and into intensive care.

(Series to be continued in Wednesday's Today section.)

CORRECTION

We regret any confusion to the reader caused by the fact that the text of David Krivine's article "What Price Medical Care?" ("Today," Wednesday, February 16) was printed in the wrong order.

Today is edited by Joanna Yehiel.



This exciting combination of corduroy, canvas and fur, designed for Niba by Shuky Levy, is one of hundreds of new creations to be seen at Israel Fashion Week, which opens on Monday, February 21 at the Lagoon Hotel, Eilat. Jerusalem Post readers will be able to see many of the other garments on display in a special Fashion Week Supplement included in next Monday's Post.

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So much for the laughter

TELEREVIEW / Philip Gillon

THE SONS of darkness have turned our beloved country into such a tragic land that I dread switching on the news, so I am going to write first about the box provided in the gloom that has covered the face of the earth during the past 10 days.

Wayne and Schuster, always good, surpassed themselves in this week's episode, "Fiddler on the Hot Roof." To those readers who do not normally stay up till 11.20 p.m. on Saturday to watch TV, let me proffer some friendly advice: change your habits somehow; you must see Wayne and Schuster. Maybe you can train for a race; lay in a good supply of sleep on a Saturday afternoon, miss earlier programmes if necessary, but make an extraordinary effort to see this Canadian series with a clear eye and an attentive ear. It is as funny as anything we have had since the early episodes of Soap amazed and delighted an astonished world.

Years ago, a writer on the Red Skelton Show described to me how that team worked; they would meet, kick around a few ideas and wisecracks, pick the best to provide the framework, and then fill it out with jokes into a programme.

The trouble with this method of creating comedy is that all too often the original idea, although very funny, becomes more and more attenuated, and ends up intolerably thin. It is like a child stretching out a piece of taffy until it is almost transparent. This happens, for example, to the latter-day pieces of Ephraim Kishon: he no longer succeeds in sustaining a joke as he did in his early works.

Nothing of this kind is happening to Wayne and Schuster. I do not know how the shows are composed by CBC, but I must say that they never falter. The basic idea is built upon so that the ultimate result is like a crazy castle to which additions are made down the generations: there is none of that thin, one-concept weakness that generally mars so many comedy shows. Wayne and Schuster is made meaty by the fact that they are always satirizing something: in the case of this latest episode, for instance, after establishing that their fiddler was Nero burning Rome, they swung round and did the show as a skit on a thriller. Thus Wayne, chief of detectives in Rome, solved yet another caper.

My only criticism, if it can be called a criticism, is that the actor playing Nero seemed badly miscast. Surely Nero was not slender and sensitive, but fat, gross-looking and double-chinned? The fiddler we saw looked more like Yehudi Menuhin than somebody letting his country burn to provide him with inspiration.

NEXT PLACE in the delights that made me forget our troubles was the second episode of the Israeli sitcom, *Near Ones and Dear Ones*. Last week I hailed this as being full of possibilities: they are now being realized. Here, too, a funny idea was fleshed out into a 30-minute sketch without losing its solidity.

The theme was provided by one of the most acute problems that has ever faced a middle-class Israeli, a problem that is a major deterrent to foreign travel. We are told that 700,000 Israelis go abroad every year:

the number might well double if potential visitors to the little world of *Hutz Le'aretz* were not deterred by the prospect of having, upon their return, to face inquisitors demanding, "What present did you bring me?"

Eilan dares to defy the fundamental rules of modern travel by returning from England empty-handed, without a single present — in particular, without bringing Liora the bottle of *Moulin Rouge* perfume she had asked for. Naturally, all hell breaks loose because of his folly.

While every member of the cast performs with such art and zest that it may seem invidious to single out one player for special praise, I feel I must say that Hanna Marron's acting in this week sealed new heights of Israeli comedy. She is obviously enjoying herself immensely and conveys that enjoyment to us. I personally like the gimmick of giving the actors their real-life first names; this simplifies identification.

Near Ones and Dear Ones is proving what I have always maintained: Israel can produce sitcoms in which we really like the people, and which are up to the standard of imported wares. I notice that the show was made by Educational Television: an honour to it. Let us hope that Israel Television has been taught by Educational Television what it should be doing on its own initiative.

FOR THOSE readers who enjoy a sentimental laugh and are not wasting their time working at 5.30 on Monday afternoons, I recommend *Polyanna*, a children's serial based on the book by Eleanor Porter that made us laugh and snivel long, long years ago. The BBC production is a delight: Elizabeth Anand, as the sunny little orphan, who only sees good in people, however revolting they are, and who spreads happiness wherever she goes, is one of the most appealing child actors I have ever seen. Compared to her, Shirley Temple, Deanna Durbin and Judy Garland were like members of Gush Emanim resisting the evacuation of Yamit.

Another show I enjoyed was obviously selected by some left-wing *Mafianik* in Television House with an uniphasic sense of humour — *Seven Days in May* on Friday night. If only we had somebody with a dimple like Kirk Douglas to serve as a watchdog for democracy, we would all feel very much safer.

SO MUCH for the laughter: now for the tears. Our misery was complete as we watched the news and discussions about what was incorrectly described as "the war between brothers." This is rather like applying that appellation to the murder of Abel by Cain: a war needs two sides, not just a killer and a victim.

One of the tenets of propaganda was that one should always use "the big lie." The big lie that is being circulated in Israel at the moment is that physical violence is being committed by extremists on both the right and the left wings: "a plague on both your houses" is the implication. The Speaker of the Knesset, Moshe Savidor, and almost all the right-wing speakers we heard on the news or in discussion programmes took this line, and appealed for national unity to end the use of force as a means of persuasion.

Now, I have been to many Peace Now demonstrations, and never have I seen them use force, and none of the speakers has ever advocated violence. The truth is that the demonstrators treated those occasions rather like holiday outings. They brought their children along; many of them carried picnic baskets and ate while they listened to rather insipid speeches. Cafes, restaurants and vendors at the fringes of the demonstrations did a thriving trade. I never heard a speech at one of these demonstrations that was calculated to stir the people to mutiny and rage. The great 400,000 demonstration in Tel Aviv ended in arguments with a handful of right-wingers, conducted with good humour on both sides.

THE VIOLENCE comes only from the right, and has ever since the last elections. I blame the supine Labour Alignment leaders and many middle-of-the-roads for letting the right get away with this "faults on both sides" kind of untruth. (For instance, on Ram Evron's show, Prof. Yirmiyahu Yovel debated with Dr. Israel Eldad the relationship between verbal violence, written violence and physical violence. Yovel won the debate hands down, and produced chapter and verse to support his argument about the poison Eldad was inserting into his articles. But Eldad was allowed to get away with equating left-wing and right-wing violence — ergo, both parties were equally at fault.)

There is an enormous difference between the most scurrilous writing and actual physical assaults, such as were perpetrated on the Peace Now demonstrators last week, let alone the throwing of hand grenades. The real violence is coming from one side, and one side only, although from two groups in it.

One group is composed of ultra-religious zealots who believe that anything is permissible to ensure the annexation of Judea and Samaria. Before 1967, these people might have gone into *yeshivot*; now they are in "pioneering settlements," and many of them serve in the IDF. They are heavily armed to protect themselves against Arabs and to

enable them to fulfil the policy of "harassment" of Arabs in the territories.

They cite God's will to justify their actions, but their God is not the same as the God of Hillel and Isaiah and Prof. Yeshayahu Leibowitz and Prof. Ephraim Urbach. Their God supported our forefathers in the conquest of Canaan, and on occasion urged them to smite the enemy hip and thigh, to destroy man, woman and child, and to leave nobody alive. They want to make Judea and Samaria "free of Arabs," and will use violence against anybody who stands in the way of their great design. Their predecessors, the Zealots of 70 CE, killed tens of thousands of Jews.

The other violent group on the right is formed by the so-called "street," allegedly people from deprived areas.

Prime Minister Menachem Begin has always had strong support in the street. On January 7, 1952, when the Knesset was debating whether to approve the acceptance of German reparations, he told a crowd demonstrating in Jerusalem's Zion Square, "I am not here to inflame you, but the police have grenades containing gas manufactured in Germany, that very gas used to kill your fathers and mothers..." The crowd took the hint, and attacked the Knesset, which was then just up the road, in King George Street. It is worth noting that many of the street then were Ashkenazim. I was at that time on kibbutz, and, when we heard of the attack, we piled into lorries and rushed to Jerusalem to defend the Knesset and democracy. From all parts of Israel supporters of the Ben-Gurion government hurried to the capital with this aim. Ben-Gurion was furious: he sent us all home with our tails between our legs and said that the Knesset would be defended by the police and the IDF.

Those were the days. Begin is not Ben-Gurion. After the street have risen in his support, after they have been unleashed, he calms them down with pious platitudes. He handles the religious zealots in the same way. Would Ben-Gurion have allowed them to attack Israeli soldiers as they did at Yamit?

The zealots and the street will not hesitate to launch an onslaught on their opponents, given the atmosphere of tolerance they enjoy. Paradoxically, though people like Emil Grunzweig in Peace Now may serve in combat units, they do not take home grenades, guns and dynamite as "souvenirs" as the street do, and they are not armed against Arabs, as the zealots are. So, if you are placing a bet, put your money on the forces of darkness. If you want to criticise anybody for this state of affairs, blame the prime minister and the weak leaders of the opposition, who, by failing to lead and canalize the national indignation at the circumvention of the Kahan Report, left a moral vacuum that Peace Now had to fill. *Kol hakovod* to Israel Television — all their sins are forgiven and forgotten. Full colour on *Mabat*, the last news, even *Moked*, and a promise of colour to come on *Mabat Sport*. The age of miracles has not passed; the long campaign is over; we have come out of the night. Even the weariest river winds somewhere safe to sea.

READERS' LETTERS

THE KAHAN COMMISSION

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir — The Kahan Commission proves that even the principles of democracy can be endangered by extremism. Contrary to the report, Israel has nothing to be ashamed of. On the contrary she should be proud of her conduct. Acting in all good faith, she sought only to protect her borders and, by so doing, to bring freedom to a harassed neighbour. Ironically the well-meant attempt backfired and caused a situation that could not have been foreseen.

We did what we had to do. Mr. Sharon had the approval of his government, for he could not have acted on his own. Had events developed according to plan, Mr. Sharon would today be a national hero.

Y. BREEN

Tel Aviv.

Sir — No objective, well-informed observer can remain blind to the lack of proportion and balanced judgment that the Kahan Commission has shown in its attitude to the commanders and officers of the IDF. They condemned these devoted men engaged in most difficult tasks in an unusually complicated situation as if they were irresponsible, morally obtuse, almost criminal. How different from this smug self-righteousness was the content and phrasing of the Agranat Commission's conclusions.

No hindsight is needed to realize how superfluous were the hysterical

demands for a full inquiry commission to deal with the events in Sabra and Shatila. They could and should have been dealt with by an internal army investigation and a military court, as the far more incriminating tragedy of Kafr Kasim was dealt with in 1956/7. Neither the media nor the opposition in those days was reckless and hypocritical enough to force Ben Gurion to establish an inquiry commission and drag the good name of our fighting men and our government through the mud.

RINA GOLDNER

Kiryat Haim. Sir — There is only one objective test with which to measure the Kahan Report — is it good for the Jews, or bad for the Jews? If the whole world praises us, it can only be bad for the Jews.

JOSEPH CETER

Ramat Gan.

Sir — I cannot under any circumstances understand what is going on in our country. After the Kahan Commission issued its report, the Prime Minister and his whole government should have immediately submitted their resignation. Instead they are playing a game of musical chairs by making Ariel Sharon minister without portfolio. What a farce, after they themselves appointed the Kahan Commission! Is there no shame or morality left in this government?

SHIMSHON FRIED

Degania A.

UNIFIL ROADBLOCK

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir — In The Jerusalem Post of February 7, there is a news item under headline, "IDF, UNIFIL meet over removal or roadblock." The incident was not revealed "yesterday," as your reporter claims, but was included in the UNIFIL weekly news summary of last week, which was teleaxed to your office on February 1. The version you printed six days later was distorted.

In our news summary, we had refrained from going into the details, which hardly bear any relation to those published, preferring to

resolve the issues arising from that incident through established liaison channels with the IDF. The matter was taken up at a high military-level meeting the next day, which incidentally did not call for the removal of the UNIFIL checkpoint as your reporter claims.

We are concerned and disappointed by the recurrent and methodical attempts of your reporter to distort the news involving UNIFIL.

TIMUR GOKSEL
UNIFIL Spokesman

Nakura.

BREAST RECONSTRUCTION

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir — The art and science of plastic surgery was well covered by Gloria Deutsch's article in *Today* of February 4. There are, however, two major issues which I feel need clarification.

Breast reconstruction following mastectomy is one of the most sophisticated and common operations being offered in Europe and the U.S.A. today. While practising in two of the leading centres in the U.S., we noted that, because women were aware that they could be "restored" following a cancer operation, a much higher percentage consulted their doctors earlier and consequently earlier detection and a higher cure rate resulted.

A well-trained surgeon with experience can achieve esthetically acceptable results even years later, or immediately following mastectomy. It is outdated and erroneous to assume that "many women now

prefer outside camouflage than going through all that for dubious results."

Cosmetic surgery is viewed as psychosomatic surgery. This results in an alteration in "body image" and is certainly not recommended for "vanity" purposes. Once again, a skilled physician is dealing with an alteration in physical and mental image which needs careful and in-depth evaluation. The goal of the plastic surgeon in these cases is to improve the quality of life in patients who have real problems.

Finally, risks and complications occur with any operation, whether done in an emergency or on an elective basis. However, in the hands of a skilled and caring physician, they are certainly well below the risk of driving a car in Israel today.

DR. HAROLD P. LABANDTER,
Plastic Surgeon

Herzliya.

RIGHT TO LIVE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir — Ms. Hecht's claim (January 30) that, through family planning services, "Israeli families can learn how to have the number of children they want when they want them," will come as a big surprise to the childless couples who are on the seven-year waiting list to receive an adopted baby.

I should like to draw the attention of Ms. Hecht and others who favour a government-sponsored programme for family planning, to a book which describes just such programmes carried out in the United States. The book by Gena Corea — all sources documented in detail — is called "The hidden malpractice." It tells of women whose welfare payments were stopped because of their refusal to use contraception; forcible sterilization of women whose "poor motivation" caused the failure of conventional contraceptives to prevent their becoming pregnant; it tells of the deaths of women who were used by chemical companies to try out new contraceptives, on the assumption that these women, being welfare cases and on the fringes of society, were expendable. There is much more, if you can bear to read it.

FANTASTIC JOB

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir — I should like to congratulate Bezael Gordon and his team for the quite fantastic job they did in translating the Kahan report. To have done this in such an amazingly short time is more than gratifying to readers of The Jerusalem Post but, far more important, it was presumably ready to hand out to the invasion of foreign correspondents. This is a big step forward in government *habara* and one hopes that it will be repeated on similar occasions.

PETER SINCLAIR-THOMSON
Haifa.

RELIGIOUS SERVICES

| SHABAT | BEGINS | ENDS |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Jerusalem | 4.51 p.m. | 6.05 p.m. |
| Tel Aviv | 5.09 p.m. | 6.07 p.m. |
| Haifa | 5.00 p.m. | 6.05 p.m. |
| Bnei Brak | 5.07 p.m. | 6.06 p.m. |
| Eilat | 5.10 p.m. | 6.09 p.m. |

Turn Purim: Truma

JERUSALEM

JERUSALEM GREAT SYNAGOGUE
Friday Minch 5.15 p.m. Shabbat, Shabbat 8.00 a.m. Minch 5.00 p.m. Maaziv 6.00 p.m. Cantor: Nadav Hershik and the Jerusalem Great Synagogue Choir, under the direction of Eli Jaffe.

Yeshurun Jerusalem Central Synagogue
Friday, Minch 5.15 p.m. Shabbat, Shabbat 8.00 a.m. Minch 5.10, Shabbat 8.30 a.m. Dvar Torah: Rabbi Dr. Ezra Milgram. Hazan: Dov Kaplan.

World Council of Synagogues (Conservative), 4 Agmon, Fri. Minch 5.10, Shabbat 8.30 a.m. Dvar Torah: Rabbi Dr. Ezra Milgram. Hazan: Dov Kaplan.

Hebrew Union College Jewish Institute of Religion, 13 King David Street, Saturday morning service at 10 a.m.

Congregation Moshel Derech, independent, traditional, Baisam, Gynath Edin, 272115, Kayemeth St. Saturday service and Dvar Torah (English summary) 9 a.m.

Har-El Synagogue (Progressive), 16 Shmuel Hanagid Street, Tel. 223841, Tonight 5 p.m. Shabbat morning 9.30 a.m. Rabbi Tovia Ben-Horin.

Great Synagogue, Tel Aviv, 110 Allenby Rd. Service conducted by Cantor Shmuel Segal. Kabbalat Shabbat 5.30 p.m., preceded by Rabbani shur, Shabbat 8.00 a.m., followed by kiddush and Talmud lecture. (Shur and lecture by Synagogue President, Avraham Hatzron).

Redeemer Church (Lutheran) Muristan Rd., Old City, Jerusalem, Sunday Worship 9.00 a.m. (Tel. 282543, 289201).

Christ Church (Anglican) opp. Citadel, 8 a.m. Holy Communion, 9.30 a.m. Family Service, 6.45 p.m., Evening service.

Baptist Congregation 4 Narkis, West: Jerusalem, Saturday service, Bible study: 9.00 a.m. Worship: 10.30 a.m. Tel. 225442.

St. Andrew's Church of Scotland, near Railway Station, Sunday Morning service, 10 a.m.

Evangelical Worship Service, Mt. Zion Fellowship, 7.30 p.m. Fri., Sat., Sun., Tel. 02-283964.

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Immanuel Church (Lutheran

Rehovot interlude

By AARON SITTNER / Jerusalem Post Reporter

TUESDAYS ARE fairly busy at Jerusalem's open-air Mahane Yehuda market, but next Tuesday, several of its key people will be away for the day.

These are the wholesalers and major distributors of fruits and vegetables and locally produced canned goods and fish — people who started out as stall owners and fishmongers and prospered as the nation and its economy expanded.

The so-called "big boys of Mahane Yehuda" will be away in Rehovot as guests of the Hebrew University's faculty of agriculture. They will tour laboratories, greenhouses, experimental gardens and pilot plants to see what the folks at Hebrew University are doing to contribute to the economy and to help the food merchants prosper.

The Mahane Yehuda-to-Rehovot outing is the second in a string of activities being organized by the Jerusalem Friends of the Hebrew University as part of the 50th anniversary celebrations of the Israel Friends of the Hebrew University.

University president Avraham Harman is meeting this month with Israeli lawyers, other professionals and businessmen, all alumni of HU, to talk to them about their alma mater.

These and other activities, says Jerusalem Friends chairman Shalom Doron, are part of a campaign "to bring Mount Scopus to the people, and the people to Mount Scopus." Doron is one of those people who still speak of the university as "Mount Scopus."

After all, the organization Doron now serves as managing director, the Israel Land Development Company (Hachsharat Hayishuv) was instrumental in acquiring and assembling the parcels of land on Mt. Scopus that were eventually to become the university's first campus.

However, while ILDC's first managing director — Arthur Ruppin — collected plots of land for Hebrew University, Shalom Doron is busy these days collecting new friends and supporters for the school he loves.

Ironically, Doron is not a graduate of HU, though he studied there for a while before enrolling in the Palestine Government Law School, where he took his degree.

His wife Carmela and his son Gal are HU alumni, and another son, Adi, is a student at HU's medical school.

"We have a slogan," Doron says, "that I'm afraid is taken as nothing more than a slogan, though it really says much more. We speak of Hebrew University as 'not only the university of Israel, but also of the Jewish People.'"

"When the Germans began their orgy of persecution of Jews, one of

their first targets were the Jewish intellectuals who had been enriching Europe's institutions of higher education. When these hounded Jews sought a refuge, it was the Hebrew University in Jerusalem that swung open its doors and afforded them an opportunity to reorganize their shattered lives and professions.

"Even earlier — before the rise of Nazism, when the shores of Zion were closed to Jewish immigration — only a relatively few *halutzim* could obtain immigration certificates. When the Mandatory government announced an allotment of certificates for students, Hebrew University lost no time in issuing 'enrolment certificates' to young Jews in Europe, to enable them to find a safe haven in Palestine.

"I came here in 1936 on one of those life-saving certificates. It was handed to me by a Mr. Poznanski, then president of the Polish Friends of Hebrew University.

"By such deeds, and by maintaining its proud tradition of scholastic excellence, Hebrew University of Jerusalem is very much the university of the Jewish People."

WHEN DORON took over recently as chairman of the Jerusalem branch of the Israel Friends, he naturally began thinking hard about ways of raising funds for the budgetarily strapped university.

It occurred to him that another Jerusalem institution, the King David Hotel, was also celebrating its 50th anniversary. A meeting with King David owners Yekutiel and Michael Federmann promptly paid off: there would be a joint celebration, since it was at the King David Hotel in the spring of 1933, that the Israel Friends of Hebrew University was founded, by Chaim Nahman Bialik.

The Federmanns agreed to host a grand dinner in honour of the university, and that will follow a reception at Beit Hanassi given by President Yitzhak Navon.

All major Israeli contributors to Hebrew University will be honoured at the King David event. Ten donors have already pledged a minimum gift of \$25,000, earning them the title of "Founder of Mount Scopus."

These contributions have been earmarked for the Hebrew University Endowment Fund and are part of a worldwide campaign among the various "Friends" societies to raise \$100m. to enable the university to become financially more independent.

Dan Almagor, a Hebrew University alumnus, has prepared a special entertainment programme for the dinner, called *Al Hadvash v'Alma Mater*.

OUR FORMER defence minister, Ariel Sharon, has suffered many cuts this past week. Perhaps the kindest was the loss of his preferred position, near Prime Minister Menachem Begin, at the cabinet table in the Knesset. Arik has been banished to a seat between his Scylla and his Charybdis — arch-rivals Deputy Premier David Levy and Finance Minister Yoram Aridor.

A COLLECTIVE sigh of relief could be heard across the land this week as Sharon ended his 20 turbulent months at the Defence Ministry. Literary-minded politicians said the manner in which he left reminded them of T.S. Eliot's line: "This is the way the world ends, not with a bang but a whimper."

The tough guy who earned the nickname Untoppable Arik made ministers blink with disbelief at the cabinet table when he first blustered and then pleaded to stay on.

"I'm told that after Sharon barged out of the room, Minister without Portfolio Mordechai Ben-Porat observed tartly to Communications Minister Mordechai Zipori: 'Now we're hearing the sound of tanks encircling the building.' He was referring to the remark made by Premier Menachem Begin, half in jest, when Sharon's name was first proposed in 1980 for the Defence Ministry. Sharon had upset Ben-Porat by snarling that he didn't want to demean himself by becoming a minister without portfolio like the Telem MK. He stressed they would be seeing the back of him. But sure enough he turned up at Sunday's cabinet meeting and ate his words.

Leaving the ministry with Sharon were most of his staff — media counsellor Uri Dan; personal aide Ari Dada; Sara Weiner, Herut liaison who organized all those jolly party junkies to Southern Lebanon and Zaire; and his personal secretary, Sara Shema. Sharon's military secretary, Rav-Seren Oded Shamir, will stay on — at least for the time being.

The pile of boxes the departing minister took with him reportedly contain documents which are to be housed in a special private archive on the Sharon ranch near Kibbutz Dorot. Something on the lines of the libraries founded by American ex-presidents? As an m. without p., we are told, he will be housed in the same East Jerusalem Kirya building as Deputy Premier and Housing Minister David Levy. The temperature can be expected to drop a few degrees in that vicinity. What if they have to share the same

ARIK'S EXILE

PUBLIC FACES / Mark Segal



(Sven Nackstrand)

elevator? Wait for the next installment...

OF COURSE the big guessing game is what Arik will be doing in his new hat, with people who should know saying that Begin does not intend to let him in on the act — witness his exclusion from the cabinet team negotiating with Lebanon.

Me'ariv editor emeritus Shalom Rosenfeld put it wittily in his midweek column: "Ministers staying on in the cabinet after the crisis are wracking their brains to find the answer to the question: which non-portfolio will Sharon hold — without Defence, Foreign Affairs, or Settlement?"

One senior Likud politician has it that Sharon intends devoting himself to the portfolio of settling accounts. Labour veteran David Hacohen urged in *Davar* that Sharon quit not only the government but also the Knesset, and be sent as our ambassador to Zaire.

INTERESTING stories are now emerging from the Defence Ministry about the extravagance of the National Security Unit headed by Aluf Abraham Tamir, who also incurred the ire of Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan by blowing it up into a parallel GHQ. Ministry sources claim that instead of operating from the 15th storey of the Hilton, Tamir and his men could have worked in

the ministry compound. The big bash they threw for Zaire Defence Secretary Rear-Admiral Lomponda (plus various Herutniks led by David Magen) cost the ministry a reputed \$2 million. Apart from which the money for the many presents bought by the guests from Zaire during their tour of Israel came from the ministry's hospitality budget.

IT IS FORTUNATE that Deputy Premier David Levy volunteered to represent the government last Friday, at the funeral of Peace Now grenade victim Eyal Granitz. Our political sources say that he's one of the few members of the Begin cabinet who would be accepted in that sad gathering.

THE POLITICAL standing of Finance Minister Yoram Aridor has strengthened since the crisis, with him becoming not only Begin's legal counsellor but his general troubleshooter. Indeed, it was noted that Aridor spoke on Begin's behalf in the last-minute negotiations he conducted, along with coalition executive chairman Avraham Shapira, with Tehiya's Hassan Porat to stop the three-MK faction abstaining over Sharon's ouster.

Apparently Porat's ideological misgivings were overcome by promises to increase the budget of

the Science and Technology Ministry.

I hear there is ferment in Tehiya over Minister Yuval Ne'eman's frequent absences abroad to attend scientific conferences. Gula Cohen reportedly wants the professor to stop enjoying the best of both worlds. Anyway, she seems to be heading back to Herut, and many Ne'eman supporters — including Dr. Israel Eldad, Prof. Yosef Nedava and ex-MK and Tehiya founder Moshe Shamir — have dropped out of the party.

THERE WERE THOSE in the Knesset corridors this week who said that neither Aridor nor his ally David Levy was ecstatic at the idea of defence minister-designate Moshe Arens' entry near the top of the Likud pyramid. This prompted rumours that the pro-national unity government lobbying by Meir Shitrit MK was not to their distaste. It would have meant that Arens would be kept out of Defence, which would probably have gone to Yitzhak Rabin.

The idea of a broad coalition, seen as Shimon Peres' last chance to regain ministerial status before President Yitzhak Navon has a go at the leadership, produced a novel coalition of internal Labour opposition led by Jerusalem's dovish Uri Baran and Tel Aviv's hawkish Elihu Spieser.

Herut insiders say that Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir's position is wobbly, and that Arens won't form an alliance with him. An Aridor-Levy-Arens *trio* is seen as more likely. The latter's ascendancy means an increase in influence for his two faithful allies — Prof. Yosef Rom and Herut economic wizard Yigal Cohen-Orgad.

Henceforth in Herut they will be keeping an eye on the Sharon faction. David Magen having threatened to shift the coalition balance if Sharon was ousted altogether. Apart from Magen, the faction consists of Herut's Deputy Knesset Speaker Meir Avigdor-Cohen, Michael Kleiner and Akiva Nof; Le'Am's Elmad Omer; the NRP's Rabbi Haim Druckman and Tehiya's trio.

It is understood that Arens will bring back with him to Defence Benjamin Netanyahu, whom he picked to be counsellor at the Washington Embassy. Netanyahu, whose brother was Entebbe hero Yoni Netanyahu, impressed his boss by his Zionist fervour and engineering training when Arens visited his own alma mater, MIT.

Envoys come and go but Israel's

non-Hebrew-speaking information counsellor Harry Hurwitz stays put. I'm told that when he lately took home leave, he chose to visit South Africa.

IT WILL BE interesting to see how Begin responds to the idea of Ezer Weizman replacing Arens in Washington. Meanwhile, all sorts of people have been offering themselves for the post, including Knesset Speaker Menachem Savidor, who has begun to lobby the Prime Minister's Office. Another name mentioned for the job is that of Dr. Amnon Goldenberg, who this week ends four years as president of the Bar Association amid loud controversy over his criticism of the Kahan Commission report at the association's luncheon club last Friday. When the association's central committee met this week and took issue with his strictures, Goldenberg apologized for having allowed himself to be "misconstrued." He said he had written explanatory letters to all three commission members. His presidential post is being contested in the association elections by Labour's David Lhai and the Likud's Menachem Berger.

FINANCE MINISTRY director-general Ezra Sadan is said to regret having sent Prof. Yakir Plesner to be his man at the Bank of Israel, where he is deputy to Governor Moshe Mandelblat.

This week Plesner put his foot in it again, causing a whooper of a row. It happened shortly after Manufacturers' Association president Eli Hurwitz sent out joint invitations with textile magnate Israel Pollack, in his capacity as chairman of the public committee to celebrate the 70th birthday of Lord Sleff of Brimpton (still Marcus to everyone), for a big party in Tel Aviv on April 27 to which VIPs will be coming from all over the world. Plesner accused Sleff's giant Marks and Spencer chain of "buying low quality and cheap goods from Israel." This charge produced an outraged response from some of our leading industrialists headed by Delta's Dov Lautman and Elite's David Moscovici, who used the weekly session of the Manufacturers Association presidium to dismiss Plesner's charges as "absolute balderdash."

They protested that Plesner had defamed Marks and Sparks, which is not only the biggest single buyer of Israeli goods in the world, but has done more than any other firm towards raising the quality of Israeli manufacturing.

"FORSAKE ME NOT"

WINNING FRIENDS and influencing people is proving beneficial to *The Jerusalem Post* funds.

Friends of Mrs. Gertrude Harvey Cohen who read in these columns a few weeks back about her sterling fund-raising effort on behalf of *The Post* and other funds, got in touch with her to get on the bandwagon.

Their enthusiastic reaction to what she is doing and the desire to enhance her reputation for good deeds evoked another round of contributions totalling more than \$12,000. Altogether, Forsake Me Not increased by \$545,978.91 during the past week to bring the total to \$1,582,206.43.

Donors were: \$12,400 and \$5 raised by Mrs. Gertrude Harvey Cohen, Jerusalem; \$1,000 — Mr. and Mrs. Markus — thank you for your wonderful work for those in need; \$10,000 from the Inner-Wheel of the Jerusalem Rotary; \$500 — Mr. Moshe Rudner, Rita and Maurice Alik; \$500 — Mr. and Mrs. Victor Cohen; "Minnie" — because we care; \$5 — Mr. and Mrs. Joe Cohen; my fee as the cohen in honour of the Piyon Haben of Baby Guy, son of Cheryl and Victor Michaly; \$120 Jacob Oser; \$100 in honour of the 100th birthday of Ann Goldblum, Pittsburgh, Pa., our grand-

mother and great-grandmother — Calli Agis, Rishona, Hittell, and Natalie, Ashkelon, Sabina Borden, Philadelphia, Pa.

\$12,300 in honour of the 90th birthday of Dr. Lotte Anshel from her friends of mercaz Vera Salomons, Kfar Sava.

\$12,250 in memory of Moshe and Rosa Engelhard — J.S. and B.L. Jerusalem.

\$54 David Brodie, Jerusalem.

DM 100 in honour of Mutt's birthday — Rabbi Dr. N. Peter Levinson and Dr. Pina Nave Levinson, Heidelberg.

\$36 in loving memory of Jacob Anisfeld — Z.A., Los Angeles, Ca.

\$35 Adele and Theodore Heller, Tucson, Arizona.

\$27.23 Messtanie Hebrew Christian Fellowship, Harrisburg, Pa.

\$1,000 Anonymous, Jerusalem. In loving memory of Louise Ehrenwerth Stettin, London — Anonymous, Jerusalem.

\$1700 Anonymous, Elmas.

\$1700 Ludwig Bornstein, Tel Aviv.

\$1700 Wendy Green, Bk'at Bet Hakarem.

\$18 in memory of my husband, Hymen Sachs — Betty Sachs, Rehovot. In memory of my beloved father, Jack Stollman, Vicky Kolin, Jackson, N.J. Deborah and Jay Stepmann, Bronx, N.Y. In honour of the 33rd birthday of my father, Joseph Clyde, London — with love, Regina, Mary and grandchildren Adana, Shahar and Karie, Baltimore, Md. In memory of Irving Bulmash, Harry Kirsch, Carol Horn Friedman — I.B. Koller, Charleston, W.V.

\$15 The Four Fish, Rochester, N.Y.

\$1500 O. Somonen, Tel Aviv. Anonymous, Ramat Gan. In loving memory of my dear husband, parents and brothers — G. Schwarzman, Tel Aviv.

\$1400 in memory of both our parents — Esther and Shabtai Rosene, Jerusalem.

\$1300 in loving memory of Louis Frank — Shore family, Rehovot.

\$1300 Anonymous. In loving memory of my dear husband Isaac and only son Eugen

Fund-raising footsteps

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Socanny — Fanny Socanny, Tel Aviv. Anonymous, Kibbutz Kfar Harov. Anonymous, Jerusalem.

\$1250 in memory of Moshe and Golde Rosentalt of blessed memory — their daughter Hana Erna Jerusalem.

\$5 in memory of the mother of Mr. Benny Hendel — Sheila and Marvin Yodenfreund, Wallis, Tx.

\$150 in memory of my parents — Dora Korber, Haifa.

\$1500 Joe and Hilda Tishler, Yokneam Pithul, S. and E. Rosentalt. In memory of a birthday present for Mrs. Thea Hirschfeld from Rolf Radauer, Jerusalem; honouring Helen Rosen — Rolf Radauer, Jerusalem.

\$18 Anonymous, Jerusalem.

"IT'S NEVER too late to give," is our reply to the "Sorry-we're-late" notes that often accompany con-

tributions in these post -- Hanukka days. And we'd like to remind readers that the Toy Fund and Forsake Me Not Fund remain open throughout the year.

The Lebanon Campaign, however, was concluded at the end of 1982, and we ask donors to no longer send cheques addressed to this fund.

This week's donations of \$16,396.52 brings the Toy Fund total to \$1,230,060.54. Please continue to help us help those in need and write out your cheques today, clearly addressed to the Toy Fund and/or to the "Forsake Me Not" Fund, and mailed to The Jerusalem Post, P.O.B. 81, 91000 Jerusalem.

This week's Toy Fund Donors were:

Anonymous in honour of Helen Rosen's birthday — Municipality of Tel Aviv — Lea Gellieb, Gotes.

\$2,000 Anonymous. DM 100 in honour of our new grandson Razan of Miri and Amnon Glusman at Ma'ale Mahanisha, brother of Erez, Nir and Neta — Rabbi Dr. N. Peter Levinson and Dr. Pina Nave Levinson, Heidelberg.

\$25 in loving memory of Olga Bernan from Ray and Harry Maier, West Bloomfield, MI. Mrs. Gene M. Martin, Texas.

\$500 A. Vitoli, Kfar Monash. D.F.150 Anonymous, Holland.

\$18 in honour of the birthdays of our oldest grandson, Elyselech, and of our daughter Sharon — Meyer and Edith Steinfield, Chicago, Ill. Students of the Temple Israel Religious School, Charleston, West Virginia.

\$10.50 Class Upper II, room 7, Temple Beth Shalom Religious School, Roslyn, N.Y.

\$10 in memory of the children who died in the Holocaust — Rose and Bill Isaacson, Chester, Pa.

\$1300 in loving memory of Louis Frank — Shore family, Rehovot.

\$1100 Joe and Hilda Tishler, Yokneam Pithul. \$500 Anonymous, in lieu of the change for the Jerusalem Post Archives service. \$150 Anonymous, Jerusalem.

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TA market displays mixed mood

By MACCABEE DEAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The market was definitely mixed yesterday but buying pressure was clearly evident, both in the number of shares which rose by five per cent or more, and by the increase in total turnover. Turnover in stocks climbed up to IS908 million from IS764m. on Wednesday.

Three of the general categories — commercial banks, financing institutions, and investment companies (and petroleum) — rose as a rule, while the other five categories displayed an almost even mix of rising and falling prices.

Three shares were listed as "buyers only" and 60 stocks rose by five per cent or more. Only one was listed as "sellers only" and only 20 fell by five per cent or more.

The major stocks of the three big banks, as usual, continued their daily upward crawl — which over months and years generally give very satisfactory results and are a better investment than index-linked bonds. FIBI fell by 50 points, or three per cent, when some 2,166,400 shares (nominal value) were offered.

HLN, whose shares were traded for the first time yesterday, rose by

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

By JOSEPH MORGENSTERN

30 per cent to stand at 1040. New shares generally "jump" on the first day of trading. One reason is that the underwriters are very cautious in fixing the basic price. The other is that since new shares generally "jump" on the first few days of trading, some investors like to get on the bandwagon, and this in itself helps the shares to rise.

Among insurance companies, Tefahot options A put in the best performance, rising by 10.6 per cent. In fact, all Tefahot shares rose, ranging from 0.7 per cent for Tefahot Registered to 3.3 per cent for Tefahot Preferred. Merav fell by 3.1 per cent.

As for insurance companies, Hasnani, which nosedived during the market collapse some weeks ago, appears to be making a slow come back, with its registered rising by 1.4 per cent and its bearers by 2.8 per cent yesterday. Other insurance companies, however, which weathered the recent storm much better, such as Phoenix O.I. and Phoenix O.S., rose by 10 and 7 per

cent respectively, but Amrat lost ten per cent.

Among industrials, Agan picked up 20 points (2.9 per cent), and is now standing at 700. This is one of the shares in which Koor has considerable equity, and since Koor is considering floating the shares of several more companies during the coming year, it was expected that Agan would soar. So far, it has failed to do so, but Arit, another Koor company which was floated recently, soared out of sight. Yesterday, for some strange reason, it dropped by 4.1 per cent to stand at only 1887, but its option rose by 53 points or 2.9 per cent.

Some industrials which did very well yesterday were Urdan O.I., up 2.4 per cent, Urdan O.S., up 1.1 per cent, Urdan Rights, up 12.1 per cent, Urdan Options Gimel, up 8.7 per cent.

Yach fell by 10 per cent, but its options rose by 5.6 per cent. Ayt rose by 8.7 per cent. Polak 5 fell by 10 per cent, and Rim by 9.6 per cent.

Most active stocks

| | | | |
|---------------|-----------|----------|-----|
| Mizrahi R. | 972 | 1551.2m. | 6 |
| FIBI | 1631 | 1537.9m. | -52 |
| Hasnani R. | 4018 | 1534.9m. | -20 |
| Shares Traded | 1599.5m. | | |
| Convertibles | 1512.3m. | | |
| Bonds | 15149.8m. | | |

Commercial Banks

| Stock | Price | Volume | Change | % |
|------------|-------|--------|--------|------|
| IDB p. | 5350 | 162 | +300 | +6 |
| IDB p. | 2387 | 162 | +9 | +4 |
| IDB p. | 3350 | 116 | +150 | +4.7 |
| IDB p. | 14600 | 1 | n.c. | |
| IDB p. | 12051 | 6 | n.c. | |
| IDB p. | 1810 | 83 | n.c. | |
| Union p. | 2170 | 518 | n.c. | |
| Union p. | 7913 | 1 | n.c. | |
| Union p. | 3408 | 183 | n.c. | |
| Discount A | 3074 | 61 | +11 | +4 |
| Discount A | 2510 | 67 | n.c. | |
| Discount B | 354 | 310 | +5 | +1.4 |
| Mizrahi p. | 972 | 5274 | +6 | +6 |
| Mizrahi p. | 972 | 203 | +6 | +6 |
| Mizrahi p. | 16150 | 1 | n.c. | |
| Mizrahi p. | 4250 | 16 | +9 | +4 |
| Mizrahi p. | 1735 | 65 | +68 | +4.1 |
| Mizrahi p. | 8022 | n.c. | | |
| Mizrahi p. | 6702 | 2 | n.c. | |
| Mizrahi p. | 390 | 122 | +4 | +1.0 |
| Mizrahi p. | 1565 | 1563 | +63 | +4.3 |
| Mizrahi p. | 173 | 718 | +1 | +0.6 |
| Mizrahi p. | 5480 | 191 | +39 | +4.7 |
| Mizrahi p. | 4018 | 866 | +22 | +6 |
| Mizrahi p. | 4018 | 14 | +22 | +6 |
| Mizrahi p. | 13550 | 5 | n.c. | |
| Mizrahi p. | 13150 | 48 | +40 | +3.3 |
| Mizrahi p. | 8771 | 5 | +190 | +2.2 |
| Mizrahi p. | 6030 | 10 | +120 | +2.0 |

Land, Building, Citrus

| Stock | Price | Volume | Change | % |
|---------|-------|--------|--------|-------|
| Land p. | 439 | 268 | -1 | -0.2 |
| Land p. | 835 | 15 | -15 | -1.8 |
| Land p. | 475 | 188 | +10 | +2.2 |
| Land p. | 515 | 25 | +5 | +1.0 |
| Land p. | 3050 | 1 | -260 | -7.9 |
| Land p. | 1125 | 12 | +5 | +0.5 |
| Land p. | 419 | 113 | +11 | +2.7 |
| Land p. | 1320 | 29 | +5 | +0.4 |
| Land p. | 6372 | 11 | +42 | +0.7 |
| Land p. | 4570 | 5 | +100 | +2.2 |
| Land p. | 386 | 102 | +18 | +4.5 |
| Land p. | 201 | 183 | +1 | +0.5 |
| Land p. | 500 | 4 | n.c. | |
| Land p. | 1615 | 34 | +30 | +1.9 |
| Land p. | 1420 | 1 | n.c. | |
| Land p. | 346 | 9 | -33 | -9.3 |
| Land p. | 163 | 253 | -6 | -3.5 |
| Land p. | 123 | 161 | n.c. | |
| Land p. | 201 | 203 | +5 | +2.5 |
| Land p. | 380 | 41 | n.c. | |
| Land p. | 190 | 106 | -1 | -0.5 |
| Land p. | 1510 | 20 | +120 | +8.6 |
| Land p. | 1616 | 20 | +18 | +1.1 |
| Land p. | 429 | 39 | +6 | +1.4 |
| Land p. | 235 | 487 | +6 | +2.7 |
| Land p. | 200 | 165 | -70 | -34.5 |
| Land p. | 1755 | 14 | +55 | +3.2 |
| Land p. | 1300 | 5 | n.c. | |
| Land p. | 2250 | 50 | +10 | +0.4 |
| Land p. | 4630 | 130 | +100 | +2.2 |
| Land p. | 4570 | 10 | n.c. | |
| Land p. | 291 | 504 | +11 | +3.9 |

Financing Institutions

| Stock | Price | Volume | Change | % |
|-----------|-------|--------|--------|------|
| Shilon p. | 645 | 362 | +40 | +6.6 |
| Shilon p. | 1971 | 4 | +1610 | +9.4 |
| Shilon p. | 1030 | n.c. | | |
| Shilon p. | 1030 | n.c. | | |
| Shilon p. | 1395 | 270 | +50 | +3.7 |
| Shilon p. | 1370 | 10 | +25 | +1.9 |
| Shilon p. | 357 | 334 | n.c. | |
| Shilon p. | 17801 | 1 | n.c. | |
| Shilon p. | 17801 | 1 | n.c. | |
| Shilon p. | 1180 | 28 | +90 | +7.1 |
| Shilon p. | 565 | 179 | +26 | +4.8 |
| Shilon p. | 451 | 1 | n.c. | |
| Shilon p. | 249 | 32 | +5 | +2.1 |

Insurance

| Stock | Price | Volume | Change | % |
|----------|-------|--------|--------|-------|
| Aryeh p. | 1402 | 449 | n.c. | |
| Aryeh p. | 49150 | 1 | +1000 | +2.1 |
| Aryeh p. | 945 | 232 | +35 | +3.9 |
| Aryeh p. | 1600 | 3 | n.c. | |
| Aryeh p. | 1484 | 76 | +165 | +10.0 |
| Aryeh p. | 865 | 131 | n.c. | |
| Aryeh p. | 3351 | 3 | +150 | +4.7 |
| Aryeh p. | 2100 | 26 | +20 | +1.0 |
| Aryeh p. | 1671 | n.c. | | |
| Aryeh p. | 970 | 67 | +45 | +4.4 |
| Aryeh p. | 635 | 86 | +10 | +1.6 |
| Aryeh p. | 465 | 65 | n.c. | |
| Aryeh p. | 2108 | 866 | +28 | +1.4 |
| Aryeh p. | 2210 | 5 | +60 | +2.8 |
| Aryeh p. | 1750 | 2 | n.c. | |
| Aryeh p. | 3575 | 22 | +325 | +10.0 |
| Aryeh p. | 3000 | 17 | +1534 | +7.9 |
| Aryeh p. | 310 | 144 | +10 | +3.3 |
| Aryeh p. | 211 | 192 | -9 | -4.1 |
| Aryeh p. | 215 | 352 | +10 | +4.9 |
| Aryeh p. | 1470 | 56 | +15 | +1.0 |
| Aryeh p. | 700 | 127 | n.c. | |
| Aryeh p. | 1440 | 5 | +20 | +1.4 |
| Aryeh p. | 2500 | 16 | +100 | +4.2 |
| Aryeh p. | 1420 | 12 | +65 | +4.8 |
| Aryeh p. | 1815 | 69 | +25 | +1.4 |
| Aryeh p. | 782 | 414 | +18 | +2.4 |
| Aryeh p. | 2720 | 10 | n.c. | |
| Aryeh p. | 2380 | 1 | n.c. | |
| Aryeh p. | 522 | 244 | +19 | +3.8 |
| Aryeh p. | 297 | 228 | +12 | +4.2 |

Services & Utilities

| Stock | Price | Volume | Change | % |
|----------------|-------|--------|--------|------|
| Galei Zohar p. | 279 | 39 | n.c. | |
| Galei Zohar p. | 170 | 121 | -8 | -4.5 |
| Galei Zohar p. | 121 | 61 | -1 | -1.2 |
| Galei Zohar p. | 473 | 68 | n.c. | |
| Galei Zohar p. | 2700 | 308 | n.c. | |
| Galei Zohar p. | 360 | 327 | n.c. | |
| Galei Zohar p. | 201 | 60 | -12 | -5.6 |
| Galei Zohar p. | 151 | 25 | +3 | +2.0 |

Lighting & Electronics

| Stock | Price | Volume | Change | % |
|-------------|-------|--------|--------|-------|
| Lighting p. | 3890 | 205 | +310 | +8.7 |
| Lighting p. | 2570 | 544 | +181 | +7.6 |
| Lighting p. | 2207 | 2 | +2047 | +10.0 |
| Lighting p. | 7276 | n.c. | +346 | +5.0 |
| Lighting p. | 391 | 192 | +9 | +2.4 |
| Lighting p. | 270 | 212 | n.c. | |
| Lighting p. | 163 | 3326 | +11 | +7.2 |
| Lighting p. | 127 | 125 | +11 | +9.9 |
| Lighting p. | 405 | 65 | +10 | +2.5 |
| Lighting p. | 215 | 107 | +7 | +3.4 |
| Lighting p. | 162 | 157 | n.c. | |
| Lighting p. | 2372 | 13 | +12 | +0.5 |
| Lighting p. | 777 | 33 | +17 | +2.2 |
| Lighting p. | 1850 | 20 | n.c. | |
| Lighting p. | 465 | n.c. | +22 | +5.0 |
| Lighting p. | 255 | 487 | n.c. | |
| Lighting p. | 175 | 400 | n.c. | |
| Lighting p. | 242 | 526 | +7 | +3.0 |
| Lighting p. | 140 | 198 | +7 | +5.3 |
| Lighting p. | 743 | 53 | -20 | -2.6 |
| Lighting p. | 500 | 22 | -50 | -9.1 |
| Lighting p. | 541 | 22 | -6 | -1.1 |
| Lighting p. | 1550 | 6 | n.c. | |
| Lighting p. | 1491 | n.c. | +16 | +1.1 |
| Lighting p. | 1680 | 56 | n.c. | |
| Lighting p. | 2200 | 7 | n.c. | |
| Lighting p. | 320 | 316 | +20 | +6.0 |
| Lighting p. | 3450 | 30 | n.c. | |
| Lighting p. | 1972 | 20 | +2 | +0.1 |
| Lighting p. | 1670 | 17 | -35 | -2.1 |

Land, Building, Citrus

| Stock | Price | Volume | Change | % |
|---------|-------|--------|--------|-------|
| Land p. | 439 | 268 | -1 | -0.2 |
| Land p. | 835 | 15 | -15 | -1.8 |
| Land p. | 475 | 188 | +10 | +2.2 |
| Land p. | 515 | 25 | +5 | +1.0 |
| Land p. | 3050 | 1 | -260 | -7.9 |
| Land p. | 1125 | 12 | +5 | +0.5 |
| Land p. | 419 | 113 | +11 | +2.7 |
| Land p. | 1320 | 29 | +5 | +0.4 |
| Land p. | 6372 | 11 | +42 | +0.7 |
| Land p. | 4570 | 5 | +100 | +2.2 |
| Land p. | 386 | 102 | +18 | +4.5 |
| Land p. | 201 | 183 | +1 | +0.5 |
| Land p. | 500 | 4 | n.c. | |
| Land p. | 1615 | 34 | +30 | +1.9 |
| Land p. | 1420 | 1 | n.c. | |
| Land p. | 346 | 9 | -33 | -9.3 |
| Land p. | 163 | 253 | -6 | -3.5 |
| Land p. | 123 | 161 | n.c. | |
| Land p. | 201 | 203 | +5 | +2.5 |
| Land p. | 380 | 41 | n.c. | |
| Land p. | 190 | 106 | -1 | -0.5 |
| Land p. | 1510 | 20 | +120 | +8.6 |
| Land p. | 1616 | 20 | +18 | +1.1 |
| Land p. | 429 | 39 | +6 | +1.4 |
| Land p. | 235 | 487 | +6 | +2.7 |
| Land p. | 200 | 165 | -70 | -34.5 |
| Land p. | 1755 | 14 | +55 | +3.2 |
| Land p. | 1300 | 5 | n.c. | |
| Land p. | 2250 | 50 | +10 | +0.4 |
| Land p. | 4630 | 130 | +100 | +2.2 |
| Land p. | 4570 | 10 | n.c. | |
| Land p. | 291 | 504 | +11 | +3.9 |

Financing Institutions

| Stock | Price | Volume | Change | % |
|-----------|-------|--------|--------|------|
| Shilon p. | 645 | 362 | +40 | +6.6 |
| Shilon p. | 1971 | 4 | +1610 | +9.4 |
| Shilon p. | 1030 | n.c. | | |
| Shilon p. | 1030 | n.c. | | |
| Shilon p. | 1395 | 270 | +50 | +3.7 |
| Shilon p. | 1370 | 10 | +25 | +1.9 |
| Shilon p. | 357 | 334 | n.c. | |
| Shilon p. | 17801 | 1 | n.c. | |
| Shilon p. | 17801 | 1 | n.c. | |
| Shilon p. | 1180 | 28 | +90 | +7.1 |
| Shilon p. | 565 | 179 | +26 | +4.8 |
| Shilon p. | 451 | 1 | n.c. | |
| Shilon p. | 249 | 32 | +5 | +2.1 |

Insurance

| Stock | Price | Volume | Change | % |
|----------|-------|--------|--------|-------|
| Aryeh p. | 1402 | 449 | n.c. | |
| Aryeh p. | 49150 | 1 | +1000 | +2.1 |
| Aryeh p. | 945 | 232 | +35 | +3.9 |
| Aryeh p. | 1600 | 3 | n.c. | |
| Aryeh p. | 1484 | 76 | +165 | +10.0 |
| Aryeh p. | 865 | 131 | n.c. | |
| Aryeh p. | 3351 | 3 | +150 | +4.7 |
| Aryeh p. | 2100 | 26 | +20 | +1.0 |
| Aryeh p. | 1671 | n.c. | | |
| Aryeh p. | 970 | 67 | +45 | +4.4 |
| Aryeh p. | 635 | 86 | +10 | +1.6 |
| Aryeh p. | 465 | 65 | n.c. | |
| Aryeh p. | 2108 | 866 | +28 | +1.4 |
| Aryeh p. | 2210 | 5 | +60 | +2.8 |
| Aryeh p. | 1750 | 2 | n.c. | |
| Aryeh p. | 3575 | 22 | +325 | +10.0 |
| Aryeh p. | 3000 | 17 | +1534 | +7.9 |
| Aryeh p. | 310 | 144 | +10 | +3.3 |
| Aryeh p. | 211 | 192 | -9 | -4.1 |
| Aryeh p. | 215 | 352 | +10 | +4.9 |
| Aryeh p. | 1470 | 56 | +15 | +1.0 |
| Aryeh p. | 700 | 127 | n.c. | |
| Aryeh p. | 1440 | 5 | +20 | +1.4 |
| Aryeh p. | 2500 | 16 | +100 | +4.2 |
| Aryeh p. | 1420 | 12 | +65 | +4.8 |
| Aryeh p. | 1815 | 69 | +25 | +1.4 |
| Aryeh p. | 782 | 414 | +18 | +2.4 |
| Aryeh p. | 2720 | 10 | n.c. | |
| Aryeh p. | 2380 | 1 | n.c. | |
| Aryeh p. | 522 | 244 | +19 | +3.8 |
| Aryeh p. | 297 | 228 | +12 | +4.2 |

Services & Utilities

| Stock | Price | Volume | Change | % |
|----------------|-------|--------|--------|---|
| Galei Zohar p. | 279 | 39 | n.c. | |

Ari Rath
Editor and
Managing Director

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Erwin Frenkel
Editor

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Adar 5, 5743 • Jamadi Awwal 5, 1403

The phantom of unity

SOME OF the country's politicians are once again talking about a national unity government. The talk derives more from wind than reality. But it is not difficult to decipher some of the motives.

In Labour there are those who fear the continuous erosion of the party's political standing while in opposition. Mr. Begin's deliberate effort to discredit Labour as a legitimate political movement and Mr. Peres personally as a legitimate opponent has borne its undemocratic fruit. Political debate has declined into hurling abuse or worse.

The obvious dangers to the coherence of the polity have now frightened even some quarters in the Likud and the coalition. They seek a way back from the abyss to which they have driven.

At the same time some of the smaller parties find the call for a national unity government a popular platform. It is an appeal to patriotism, without the trappings of extremist nationalism, to which patriotism has descended in the minds of so large a section of the public — both Ashkenazi and Sephardi.

There are also more mundane motives like calculations of personal political advantage. And there are larger pragmatic calculations, like the government's political reluctance to engage in unpopular economic reform which could redound to the benefit of Labour in opposition, or the desire to share the fallout from the misadventure in Lebanon.

None of these reasons, however, commend themselves to Mr. Begin. Having surmounted the crisis of the Kahan Commission's findings, he apparently feels he can stay the course of a full second term. And without Mr. Sharon to pull him into further misfortune, he may well be right.

Thus, according to his spokesmen, he would entertain even a suggestion of a unity government only after Labour would reverse its official position and initiate the request. In other words make Labour eat crow and perhaps split at the seams, for a mirage.

And Labour, for its part, wants the first move to come from him.

So, like last year, when similar noises about the need for a unity government were heard, there is smoke but no fire. The reasons are plain. The country is fractured down the middle. Inevitably this prompts yearnings for unity. But the same fracture also prevents it. The yearnings are simply an index of the nation's travail.

But as long as Mr. Begin is in power that travail and that fracture will exist. For its sources lie in his determined policy to make permanent Israeli rule in the West Bank, and his historic indignation against the Labour Movement. He has escalated this twin passion into a virtual definition of Zionism and patriotic zeal, igniting ethnic division, inciting fanaticism, transforming democratic argument into a battle of absolutes.

The resulting polarization in Israeli society cannot be ameliorated by conventional political maneuver. It requires a historic understanding of the legitimate limits of political debate and political division beyond which pathology takes over.

Mr. Begin has yet to demonstrate such understanding. But it is he who presides over the political process. The responsibility is his; the consequences will affect us all.

RALLIES FOR GRENADE

(Continued from Page One)

members of extreme political groups and alleged underworld figures. By yesterday, they had largely completed their questioning of witnesses, but they had still not made any arrests.

In Tel Aviv, some 500 people gathered around the wreaths and torches that had been burning for the past seven days during the mourning vigil for Grunzweig in Kikar Malchei Yisrael. The assembly opened with a moment's silence in Grunzweig's memory.

Arye Eliav told the assembly that those who say that Grunzweig's murderer is insane or a foreign agent are "trying to evade the possibility that those who threw the grenade are part of our public and political body."

In Haifa, the Grunzweig family visited Emil's grave at Hof Hacarmel cemetery to mark the end of the seven-day mourning period. Scores of people attended a memorial meeting outside the Beit Rothschild community centre in Central Carmel last night. Among them was Emil's brother, Eliezer and Mayor Arye Gurel.

Arye Gurel.

A poem by Nathan Yonatan, entitled *An elegy on the death of our brother*, was read during the ceremony.

Mayor Gurel said: "I also came to express my solidarity with the people who are fighting against the atmosphere that has been created and which enabled such a tragedy to happen."

There were also memorial meetings in Beersheba and Ashkelon.

The Israel Journalists Federation last night appealed to Prime Minister Menachem Begin to use his rhetorical skills to combat violence and "shock the public into realising where it was leading." The president of the Press Council, Dr. Yehoshua Rotenstreich, called on Prime Minister Menachem Begin to address the nation over television.

The police announced last night that a number of Tel Aviv streets around Kikar Malchei Yisrael would be closed to traffic on Saturday night because of the planned protest rally organised by the Alignment, Peace Now and other movements.

Unlearned lessons

By CHAIM HERZOG

THE NATIONAL and international reaction to the Kahan Report naturally centred on the issue of whether or not the government would accept the findings; on the antics of the minister of defence and his response to the findings; and on the personal tragedies that ensued. Unfortunately, many important points and lessons have been ignored in the public debate.

Once again the issue of whether or not the minister of defence should be a military man comes to the fore. This writer has repeatedly expressed the opinion that given the closely-knit "family" background of the Israel Defence Forces, it is a mistake to have a military man as defence minister. It is no coincidence that on two occasions when a commission of inquiry was established a military minister of defence was involved.

Both in 1973 and in 1983, the minister of defence, in addition to his military qualifications, was an overpowering personality who imprinted his stamp on the military establishment, and who in many ways, if only by virtue of his personality and personal standing, intimidated, at least psychologically, the entire military establishment.

By the nature of things, a military minister of defence develops into a super-chief-of-staff. This happened during the period of the late Moshe Dayan, though it was even more evident during Ariel Sharon's term of office. In Lebanon, Sharon frequently directed military operations, even at divisional level. Military cliques based on past common experiences and loyalties, and on personal professional relationships, developed. Senior officers tended to lose their identity and to adapt themselves to what they considered to be the minister's line.

In both cases, the minister adopted a concept. On the eve of the Yom Kippur War, the concept was that the Egyptian and Syrian forces would not go to war until they had the necessary fighter-bomber capability, which would be available by 1975. The stream of convincing intelligence gathered by Israel was adapted to this concept.

As a result, the move forward simultaneously on Israel's northern and southern borders of two fully mobilized armies; the tell-tale indications on the ground; the hasty departure of the Russian advisers and their families from Cairo and Damascus — all were subordinated to the concept. The evaluation given to the cabinet on Friday, October 5, 1973 was that there was "low probability" of an Arab strike.

IN THE CASE of Lebanon, the minister of defence, encouraged by evaluations of the Mossad, which was responsible for the special relationship maintained with the Phalangist forces, espoused the cause of a close relationship with those forces. The intimacy of the relationship created a lack of objectivity in those responsible for the liaison.

The overall strategy developed by the Defence Minister for Operation Peace for Galilee was based on a close and intimate relationship with the Phalangists and their leader, Bashir Jemayel. Unlike 1973, military intelligence did not adapt itself to the minister's concept. For years, military intelligence had expressed reservations about the growing intimacy with the Phalangist forces and took issue on this with the Mossad.

The decision adopted favoured the Mossad's approach; the military intelligence was ignored on this issue. The Kahan Commission was of the opinion that the director of military intelligence should not have thrown in the towel, and should have persisted in pressing his position.

Here there is a human problem, the one facing the chief of intelligence who may, for instance, attend a cabinet meeting in which the minister of defence and the chief-of-staff express an opinion and give an evaluation. Is the intelligence chief expected to tell the cabinet that the proposals of his superiors are based on a wrong premise? Should one judge from Intelligence Chief Yehoshua Saguy's statement quoted in the report that he simply threw in the towel on this issue because he knew he would be ignored?

Israel's experience with civilian ministers of defence — David Ben-Gurion, Levi Eshkol and Shimon Peres — has been a good one. There was a much clearer distinction under these ministers between civilian and military authority. Israel's experience with the two military ministers has led to the trauma of a commission of inquiry. One notable exception was Ezer Weizman: despite being a military man, he alone did not try to become a super-chief-of-staff.

A SECOND point worthy of emphasis is the unbelievable, and unpardonable fact that the prime minister was not informed of vital developments involving the armed forces that could affect his government until the actual developments had commenced. Even then he was kept out of the picture by soothing reports that obscured the facts. He was to learn of these from a BBC broadcast. It is difficult to comprehend the complete lack of reporting procedure to the prime minister.

Another disturbing point relates to the functioning of the prime minister. According to the report, the premier did not listen to the prophetic warning of Deputy Prime Minister David Levy at a cabinet meeting, because he was busy preparing a press announcement about its conclusions. Three times in its report, the Kahan Commission points to this alarming fact.

One wonders why no one else in the vast assembly who today attend cabinet meetings could be entrusted to draft an announcement for the press? Incidentally, in Ben-Gurion's day, only ministers attended cabinet meetings.

Over the years the prime minister had a military secretary who was of the calibre and stature that he could maintain a direct relationship on equal terms with the senior military staff. The pattern for this official was set at the birth of the state by the late Nehemiah Argov, and was maintained by many of his successors. I suspect that had Tat-Aluf Ephraim Poran, who served as military secretary to two prime ministers, Yitzhak Rabin and Menachem Begin, been in the Prime Minister's Office, the premier would not have been left without knowledge of what was going on in Beirut.

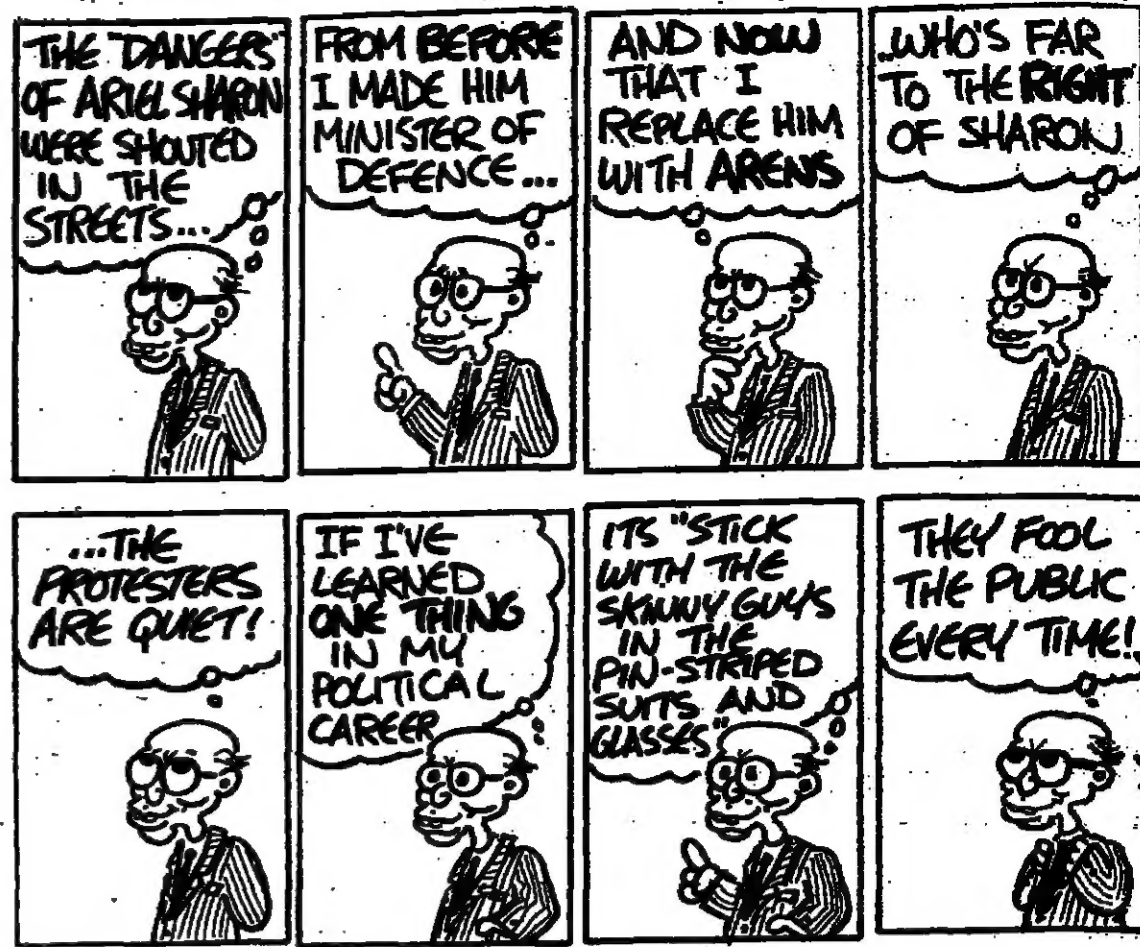
Ariel Sharon repeatedly considered an authoritative senior officer on the prime minister's staff to be an unnecessary luxury; he saw himself as being responsible for contact with the prime minister on military matters.

Yet, above all, what emerges from the report, is the utter lack of a political evaluation function at the level of the prime minister and the cabinet offices. At no level, is there any provision for a process of policy evaluation. The only organization capable of carrying out such an evaluation is military intelligence, which is properly constructed and has a superb research and evaluation department, one based on ability, know-how and a thorough understanding of the subject.

IT IS no exaggeration to say that Israel's military intelligence is the best in the world on the subject it is supposed to cover, namely, the Middle East.

At no level — neither in the Prime Minister's Office, the Foreign Ministry, the cabinet level or the Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee — is there an independent think-tank. The net result is that there is an overdependence on

The Friday Dry Bones



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military intelligence. The chief of military intelligence tends to be regarded at times as a fortune-teller whose crystal ball tells all. Policy-makers tend to hide behind the intelligence function, with the result, as Henry Kissinger put it, that "they know too much and understand too little."

Tom Hughes, a former U.S. under Secretary of State now at the Carnegie Foundation, once likened the relationship between the heads of government and intelligence to that between a drunkard and a lamp-post. He leans on the post, not to benefit from its light, but for support.

Finally, we must consider the disturbing findings that seem to indicate a chaotic situation exists in the recording of vital conversations, and reporting the fact that they took place. In its final chapter, the report of the Kahan Commission traces developments following the decision of the morning of September 15, 1982 to permit the Phalangist forces to enter the refugee camps.

The prime minister and the ministers heard about this decision only on the evening of Thursday, September 16. The Phalangists were already in the camps. No further report was received by the prime minister until Saturday the 18th, when he heard the news on the BBC. The facts speak for themselves.

THE MANNER in which the decision was taken in the entry of the Phalangists into the camps — on the roof of the advanced headquarters in Beirut — indicates a serious absence of preparatory staff work. Indeed, according to the report, no proper staff conference took place on this subject. The reporting about the actual decision and about what happened afterwards reveal a sorry state of affairs.

The prime minister did not know, nor did the foreign minister. The chief of military intelligence main-

tained that he was not consulted; intelligence officers in Northern Command were briefed two hours after the Phalangists entered the camps. GHQ military intelligence was not consulted in advance, and the chief of the Mossad heard about the whole plan together with the ministers at the Cabinet meeting of Thursday evening. And yet there was a Mossad liaison officer with the Phalangists.

The reporting procedure thereafter within the army, as described in the report, indicates a near breakdown. Standing operating procedures did exist, but they were ignored.

There has been a tendency on the part of the Israeli public to mollycoddle the IDF and to play down any criticism, because it might affect morale. This approach, in my view, does a disservice to the country and to the army. The national tendency to sweep the IDF's shortcomings under the rug is a serious danger to our national security.

More than once I have expressed in the press my grave disquiet, from a professional point of view, at various aspects of the IDF's functioning in Lebanon. Events that cost lives and resulted in Israeli being taken prisoner were a natural corollary to the slovenliness and negligence that frequently characterize the IDF. Much of it was evident for all to see in Lebanon. In this, too, the minister of defence, in addition to the senior military command, cannot escape responsibility.

THE KAHAN report raises serious issues that have been obscured by the political and personal issues involved. If the government fails to draw conclusions from the picture presented in the report, then it will only have itself to blame for any further situations that give rise to new commissions of inquiry.

The writer is a former chief of military intelligence.

Sharon's mark of Cain

By ALLAN E. SHAPIRO

There were positive reasons for using Phalangist forces in the camps, and there was no conspiracy or plot "with the aim of perpetrating atrocities in the camps."

The matter of knowledge is ambiguous. In its discussion of the conspiracy charge, under the heading of direct responsibility, the commission is completely silent on this point. There is no finding, as in the case of intention, that no knowledge existed on the part of any Israeli element that a massacre would occur. On the contrary, it finds, in its discussions of indirect responsibility that there was knowledge, or facts from which knowledge must be assumed, that the danger of a massacre was "probable."

Enumerating the sources of information, the Kahan Commission remarks that "even before Bashir's assassination, the possibility of the Phalangists perpetrating a massacre in the camps was not esoteric lore, which need not and could not have been foreseen."

In the discussion of Sharon's personal responsibility, the commission characterizes the degree of knowledge as follows: "In the circumstances that prevailed after Bashir's assassination, no prophetic powers were required to know that concrete danger of acts of slaughter existed when the Phalangists moved into the camps."

The difference, therefore, between the knowledge required for a finding of direct responsibility and that for indirect responsibility is between knowledge that a massacre would certainly occur and knowledge of a danger that it would probably occur, or concrete danger that it would occur. There is at least a verbal distinction between

knowledge that a massacre would occur and knowledge that the danger was probable or concrete. If there is any practical difference, in the circumstances of Sabra and Shatila, the commission's report does not indicate what it might be.

COMMON SENSE, however, suggests that the element of intention, missing for a finding of direct responsibility, loses significance to the degree that the probability of a massacre occurring approaches certainty. For what difference does it make whether an intention existed that a massacre would take place, if

there was knowledge it would occur if the Phalangists were permitted entry into the camps and the decision was intentionally made to permit them to enter? Decision-makers, like other human beings, must be charged with intending the reasonable and foreseeable consequences of their actions.

Sharon contended before the commission, as he had before the Knesset, that "no one had imagined that the Phalangists would carry out a massacre in the camps." The commission's rejection of this position was unqualified, declaring that "it is impossible to justify the minister of

defence's disregard of the danger of a massacre." The consideration that the Phalangists were liable to commit atrocities "did not concern him in the least." How does the commission know? "From the defence minister himself."

In the course of its discussion of the personal responsibility of Ariel Sharon, the commission interjects the remark — in connection with nothing in particular — that "it is ostensibly puzzling that the defence minister did not in any way make the prime minister privy to the decision on having the Phalangists enter the camps."

The higher the degree of probability that a massacre would occur, the less "ostensibly puzzling" that he kept as mum about it as he could.

The writer, who lives in Dagan Ha'Ala, is a political scientist.

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